For the private perusal of Capt Blanket
January 1782.

TRAVELS

IN

EUROPE, ASIA, and AFRICA;

DESCRIBING

CHARACTERS, CUSTOMS, MANNERS, LAWS, and PRODUCTIONS of NATURE and ART:

CONTAINING

Various REMARKS on the POLITICAL and COMMERCIAL INTERESTS

OF

GREAT BRITAIN:

And delineating, in particular,

A NEW SYSTEM

For the Government and Improvement of the BRITISH SETTLEMENTS in the

EAST INDIES:

Begun in the YEAR 1777, and finished in 1781.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

[by William Thomson]

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. MURRAY, No. 32, FLEET-STREET.

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ERRATA in Vol. II.

Page 67. in the note, after *Hyder Ally's capital* read *of the Bednure province.*

117. lines 17 and 19. dele the words *for that of China* and *with that country.*

119. line 4. for *Fort Louis* read *Port Louis.*

154. in the note, line 12. for *reasonably* read *seasonably.*

157. line 14. for *capitulant subjects* read *capitulant prisoners.*

174. line 9. before the words *United Provinces* insert *Seven.*

182. line 3. for *up* read *upon.*

Ditto. line 15. dele *civil* before the word *power.*

261. line 1. for *winding* read *indirect.*

Ditto. line 10. before the word *sovereignty* insert *virtual.*

277. line 20. for *Island* of Basseen, read *Promontory* of Basseen.

278. line 14. between *The* and *circumstances* insert *apparent.*

288. in the note, for *A coss* read *Two coss.*

360. line 18. for *Barabutta* read *Barabulla.*

367. line 2. the same.

411. line 16. for *which* read *whom.*

415. line 22. for *Milbourn* read *Skibbereen.*

417. line 8. for *Skibberton* read *Skibbereen.*

456. line 4. for 439 read 446.

TRAVELS

IN

EUROPE, ASIA, and AFRICA.

LETTER XLIII.

To J—— M——, Eſq. London.

Calcutta, Nov. 10, 1779.

THE encloſed letter, which I have juſt received from a gentleman who has been for ſeveral years in the military ſervice of the Company, may perhaps afford you ſome entertainment.

Bombay, 7th October 1779.

—I HAD been informed, that you was ſent back, in a ſtate of captivity, to

France. By what accident or what miracle did you effect your deliverance? Or is it true, that you was in the hands of the French? And if it is, why did you commit yourfelf to their cuftody? Explain, my friend, thefe myfteries. You are defirous to know how it fares with me, but feem to fuppofe that I am indifferent to your fortune. You write a very fhort letter to me, and in return you require "a very long one, containing my hiftory, and obfervations on this country and its inhabitants." If I comply with your requeft, remember that it is on condition of doing me a like favour, by giving me a narrative of your life, from the moment of our feparation in America.

THE means by which I obtained a commiffion in the Company's fervice, the obftacles I was forced to encounter before I accomplifhed it, with other circumftances, will furnifh matter for converfation when we meet. I fhall only mention, in general, that the channel through which I obtained

my

my commiſſion, was very different from that through which I expected it.—We ſee but a ſhort way into futurity: we mark out different walks of life in our own imaginations, and enter upon them with alacrity, in hopes of a proſperous journey: but before we have advanced far in theſe paths, oppoſing mountains obſtruct our way, and we are ready to ſink down into deſpair. But no ſooner do we recover from our aſtoniſhment, and look around us, than faſt by the foot of that very mountain which interrupts our progreſs, we diſcover ſome opening, either to the right or left, through which we may purſue the journey of life, in paths not marked out by our own fancies, but by the hand of nature and providence.

I LANDED at Bombay in January 1773. I need not mention to you, that on arriving in any town in India, a ſtranger is ſtruck with the complexions, dreſs, and ſubmiſſive deportment of the natives. A nod, a hint from a perſon in the ſervice of the

Company, they conſider as equal to the moſt poſitive command. As to your ſervants, they watch every movement of your body, and penetrate the riſing deſires of your heart from your looks and geſtures, ever eager to prevent your wants, and to anticipate your very wiſhes. The conveniency I derived from all this ſervile attendance, did not compenſate for the uneaſineſs I felt, when I reflected on the dependent ſtate of the people of Aſia.

THE circumſtance which next drew my attention, was the extreme indolence of the inhabitants of this country. A perſon of condition is ſurrounded by multitudes of ſervants, each of whom has his particular department. He is dreſſed, carried about, and put to bed, like an infant. It was ſome time before I could reconcile my mind to the idea of being borne in a palanquin on men's ſhoulders: for, beſides that I thought that an office unworthy the dignity of any human creature, it conſtantly recalled to my imagination the

manner in which the dead are carried in our country. A bookſeller, who is a Moor, very politely invited me to *lie*, whenever I pleaſed, in his ſhop, where I might hear all the news, and where there would be always a pillow at my ſervice.

BUT the operation of climate ſoon conformed me to the cuſtoms of this country, which I found very natural and convenient. I had paſſed near a year in Bombay, in a manner, I muſt confeſs, that did by no means tend to prepare me for the hardſhips of war, when our company were called, along with others, to the ſiege of *Tannah* Fort, in the iſland of *Salſette*. Our army conſiſted of 700 Europeans, and 2000 ſepoys: the whole under the command of Brigadier General Gordon. A battery was opened againſt the ſtrong fortreſs of *Tannah*, which played for ſome days without any effect. Captain Campbell, with other young officers, in a council of war, recommended an attack on Fort Tannah by ſtorm. General Gordon, who was averſe

to this meaſure, and who inſiſted on firſt beating down the fort, or at leaſt making a breach in the wall by the artillery, being limited by his inſtructions, was forced to yield to the importunities of thoſe who adviſed an aſſault. Accordingly 200 *heymals* * were appointed to fill up a part of the ditch which ſurrounded the wall of the fortreſs, with ſand-bags; a work in which they were to be aſſiſted by the ſoldiers; while 120 grenadiers were to cover this dangerous operation. The heymals and a company of foot ſet out with their bags of ſand, and preſented a fair mark to the guns of the fort, which played on thoſe miſerable porters with dreadful ſucceſs. The heymals, as ſoon as they heard the balls from the fort ſinging about their ears, and ſaw a few of their companions dropping by their ſides, threw down their burthens and fled. This had a ſtrange effect on our ſoldiers, who were ſtationed at ſome diſtance, and who were

* People who carry burdens.

ſpectators of this ſcene: when they ſaw the poor heymals throwing down their bags and running, they burſt into immoderate fits of laughter. The ſoldiers who were appointed to aſſiſt the heymals in carrying ſand-bags, perſevered in their perilous journey, but were moſt of them either killed or wounded: a few bags were thrown into the ditch, but they were only *a drop in the bucket*. As to the grenadiers who covered this manœuvre, out of one hundred and twenty, only fifty-ſix remained fit for duty. Thus ended a ſcheme, the wildeſt that could poſſibly be conceived.—Indeed it was concerted at a late hour, and in circumſtances not the moſt favourable to *cool* reflection.

IN order to draw the attention of the fort from the main battery, 100 Europeans with field pieces, and 100 ſepoys, were ſtationed within three hundred yards of the fort, on the weſt ſide. The field-pieces were pointed through a milk-buſh

hedge. The Marrattas made an attempt to attack our troops in flank, during the darkneſs of the night, but were eaſily repulſed. On this occaſion, two *Marrattas* intoxicated with *bang*, (a decoction of a ſeed ſomewhat like hemp-ſeed) advanced within an hundred yards of our lines, under a heavy fire, brandiſhing their ſwords, and making ſigns, by waving with their hands, for their companions to follow them. They were both killed; and preſently ſome horſemen had the courage to make an effort, but in vain, to carry off their dead bodies. This they think of great importance; for after the body is burned, the devil can have no longer any power over it.—The *Marratta* warriors wear, all of them, girdles or belts round their waiſts. The horſemen have a hook, which they inſtantly dart between thoſe belts and the dead bodies of their friends, with the greateſt dexterity, and therewith carry them off from the field of battle. That the two Marrattas I have now men-

tioned were in liquor, was evident from the quantities of *bang* that flowed from their mouths after they were killed.

THE Marràtta horfe had for fome time been in the practice of croffing the channel, which divides the ifland of Salfette from the continent, and carrying off the treafure from the mint. With a view to check this practice, the general employed Captain *Ferrer*'s divifion, under the direction of engineer *Nugent*, to erect a one-gun battery near the mint. While the men were at work at this battery, centinels were of courfe ftationed at a certain poft near the channel, to watch the motions of the enemy. One evening, about twilight, a buffalo happened to advance towards the centinel's ftation: the ruftling made by the animal moving through fhrubs, and the fallen leaves of trees, reprefented to the affrighted imagination of the centinel, the Marrattas approaching in all the terrors of fire and flaughter. He inftantly fired his mufket, whereby

whereby an alarm was communicated to the party that were carrying on the one-gun battery. This party was that evening commanded by Lieutenant S——s: on hearing the alarm the *coolies* * ran, guarding their heads with their baſkets. The ſoldiers followed the example of the coolies, and Lieutenant S——s arrived at the camp as ſoon as any cooly or ſoldier under his command. — "What!" ſaid Captain Ferrers, "Mr. S——s, I am aſtoniſhed to ſee you flying."—"I followed," replied the Lieutenant, "to bring the men back to their duty." This retreat before the buffalo afforded much pleaſantry, and ſerved to keep up the ſpirits of the men; who, I have obſerved, in all ſeaſons of danger, are more than ordinarily diſpoſed to what they call fun and laughter; the ſerioufneſs and ſolemnity of their ſituations, forming a very ſtriking contraſt with any ludicrous incident.

* Labourers who wrought at the battery.

AT

AT length a mine being ſprung under the fort, the walls of which had been ſhaken by our artillery, it fell with ſuch a dreadful craſh as I had never heard, though hundreds of cannon were daily roaring in my ears. It was then unanimouſly determined to take the fort by ſtorm. The old *Keelidaw*, or Marratta governor, was inſtructed by ſome of our people who had deſerted to the enemy, that the Engliſh would make their aſſault by night. And indeed, ſome of our raſh officers adviſed that meaſure: but General Gordon ſet his face with more firmneſs againſt that project, than he had ſhewn in oppoſing the bags of ſand. He determined to ſtorm the fort in open day, when he would not be expoſed to unſeen dangers. The fort guns being now ſilenced, a breach was eaſily made in the wall, and the rubbiſh ſerved to fill up the ditch. Our troops ruſhed into the fort, and a dreadful carnage enſued. The Keelidaw, who had commanded fort Tannah for thirty years, and who was reſolved to defend it to the

laſt

laſt extremity, had ſeized the perſon of the young prince, or Rajah of Salſette, a lad about ten years of age, who was inclined to hearken to terms of accommodation with the Engliſh, and confined him in the fort during the ſiege. The Keelidaw fled by the weſtern gate, while the young prince, in the midſt of thouſands of his ſoldiers and ſubjects, attempted in vain to make his eſcape by that on the eaſt ſide of the fort. The preſſure and confuſion of the diſtracted multitude ſhut the gate againſt themſelves: and in that critical ſituation, like a flock of unreſiſting ſheep driven together into a fold, they received the fire and the ſwords of the furious victors. It was ſome time before the general's orders to ſpare all who ſhould throw down their arms, were obeyed: but at length the fury of our ſoldiers abated. Many of the Marrattas were taken priſoners, and among the reſt the young prince, and an artillery-man of the name of Campbell, who had deſerted from our army to the Marrattas, and was a principal engineer in their ſervice. This

man

man was tried by a court martial, and ſentenced to death. General Gordon ſeemed inclined to pardon him. Captain Campbell endeavoured to perſuade the unfortunate wretch to ſay, that his name was *Cameron*. The man who had betrayed his country, maintained the point of honour when he was tampered with to deny his name:—"Come life, or death," ſaid he, "I ſcorn to renounce my name—my name is not *Cameron*; my name, as well as your's, is *Campbell*."

THE ſiege of Tannah Fort was the firſt time of my being in actual ſervice. When I marched out of Bombay, I felt not the leaſt impreſſion of terror—but fear crept upon me in proportion as I approached Salſette; and I was ſtruck with a momentary panic, the firſt time I heard the report of the guns of the fort. The firſt thing that cured me of my fears, was the power of ſleep. By travelling, and above all by watching, I was ſo overcome by ſleep, that within three hundred yards of

Fort

Fort Tannah, in the midſt of the roar of all its guns, and random ſhot flying around me, I laid me down on the ground and ſlept, ſometimes ſtartled by the noiſe that too forcibly aſſailed my ears, and often dreaming of bombs, cannon-balls, &c. In the courſe of eight days, my apprehenſions of danger were conſiderably overcome. I was never ſo overpowered by fear, but that I would have obeyed the dictates of duty and honour. The day after Fort Tannah was taken, preſented a ſhocking ſpectacle of ſwarms of crows, kites, and vultures, devouring the unburied bodies that lay in heaps towards the eaſtern gate, and in different places around the walls. In the midſt of this ſcene of horror, the numerous ſand-bags that ſtrewed the way of the heymals when they fled before the guns of the fort, recalled to the ſoldiers minds ſome ludicrous ideas, which they indulged in preference to thoſe ſentiments of humanity and compaſſion which ſo many objects obtruded on their minds.

HAVING

HAVING remained upwards of three years and an half in the iſland of Salſette, I returned to Bombay in 1777: here I ſaw the infamous parricide Ragonaut-Row, commonly called Ragoba; who, aſpiring to the *Marratta* throne, had imbrued his hands in the blood of his nephew, entruſted to his care by his brother; who had ſeized at once the perſon of the young Marratta prince, and the reins of government. This man's name was Nana-Row. He exerciſed the power of the ſovereign, or *Ram-Rajah*, with the title of *Paiſhwa*; and in this office it was the ambition of *Ragoba* to ſucceed him. But a general deteſtation of his crimes exalted a competitor to the regency, and chaſed the parricide from his country. He ſought and found an aſylum in BOMBAY, where his intrigues, and, as is ſaid, the remains of his wealth which he found means to ſave when he fled from *Poonah*, gained him not only a favourable reception, but determined the Company's ſervants to make an effort to place him at the head of the adminiſtra-

 tion

tion of Poonah. This man, on review and field days, ufed to walk in the front of the lines, on which occafions he received the common military compliments. His perfon is tall and flender; his countenance rather auftere, but expreffive, and not without dignity. He is very fuperftitious. —I have been in company with Ragoba: he is artful, infinuating, and, as has appeared from his conduct, extremely deceitful. His turban and his arms were always loaded with jewels. He had a fon with him in the ifland of Bombay, a youth of about fourteen years of age, one of the handfomeft figures I ever faw in any part of the world. *Ragoba* is exceffively fond of this boy; he has frequently faid, that if he could fee his fon in poffeffion of the regency, to which he made pretenfions himfelf, he would die in peace. *Ragoba,* befides troops of his own, fepoys, raifed, when he was at Bombay, a company of Armenians, Portuguefe, Germans, Danes, Dutch, Englifh, &c. thefe he called his *Chriftian* company. He boafted much of

their

their valour and difcipline, and placed, or pretended to place, great confidence in their attachment to his perfon. This prince, or at leaft this *pretender* to fovereignty, had an infinite number of attendants. He lived in a magnificent ftile, and was very munificent to the officers of his Chriftian company.

You have doubtlefs received at Calcutta, particular accounts of the ftrange and unfuccefsful expedition that was undertaken, under the conduct of field-deputies and military commanders, to conduct Ragonaut Row to Poonah. It is a ftrange humour that merchants have, of fubjecting their generals to the controul of field-deputies—this is the jealous policy of the Dutch: this is the policy of the Englifh Eaft-India Company. I fuppofe the artful and deceitful fpirit of traffickers, is too cunning to entruft the command of their armies folely in the hands of military men. I have nothing to object to the wary policy of merchants; but if they cannot

truſt to the fidelity of military commanders, they ſhould never intermeddle with military affairs; and inſtead of fighting for an extenſion of commerce, endeavour to improve their trade by the excellency and the cheapneſs of their commodities. Deliberation and execution cannot go hand in hand: the former muſt precede the latter. It is abſurd to inveſt men who are not ſoldiers, with powers incompatible with military ſervice, and that ſubordination and promptitude of action, which alone can enſure ſucceſs in any warlike enterprize.

We ſet out, about 4000 ſtrong, on this expedition towards the end of 1778, with an enormous quantity of cattle and baggage, which was by no means neceſſary to our ſubſiſtence, and which greatly retarded our progreſs. In *Ragoba*'s diviſion of the army, which marched in the van, were a number of huge elephants, with their caſtles mounted on their backs, for the uſe of his wives and of his officers: on one of the

the largeſt rode *Ragoba* himſelf. The elephants walk ſeemingly with a ſlow pace, but nevertheleſs they make great progreſs, making very long ſteps. This circumſtance of the length of their ſteps, accounts for that rolling motion, of which perſons mounted on their backs are ſenſible, and which they compare to the motion of a ſhip. Theſe animals, for the moſt part, outwalked the infantry, and were generally advanced to a conſiderable diſtance before the reſt of the army. Their enormous weight imprinted their footſteps ſo deeply in the wet and ſoft ſoil, that our ſoldiers were incommoded by them in a diſtreſſing manner: for the holes that were made by their feet, being preſently filled up with water or mire, could not be readily diſtinguiſhed from the ſurrounding ſurface; into theſe pits our men frequently plunged, to the entertainment indeed of their companions, but their own ſad moleſtation. During the whole march, there was a never-ceaſing volley of curſes poured forth on Ragoba's elephants.

The caſtles that are fixed on the backs of elephants by a kind of harneſs under their belly like the girth of a ſaddle, reſemble tents: each of them will contain eight or ten perſons. In the time of battle, theſe tents are thrown open, by pulling aſide the curtains, at four different places, whence the people within throw darts, ſhoot arrows, or uſe muſquetry. In the mean time, the creature that ſupports them rages with the fury of war, and is impatient to be in the midſt of the enemy. If by chance the contending armies ſhould cloſe together, which ſeldom happens, the elephant, by means of a chain which he wields with his trunk, makes dreadful havock among his enemies with that weapon.—I have been told wonderful ſtories in this country, of the ſagacity of this animal. I ſhall not take the preſent occaſion of reciting them.—Do you recollect a tale of an elephant at Grand Cairo? A taylor was working on a ground-floor with his window open, when an elephant laid his trunk on his board, amidſt his work. The

taylor

+ This Tale has been told of an Elephant in the Black town at

taylor pricked the elephant's trunk with his needle, whereupon the indignant animal went away, and ſwallowed an enormous quantity of water, which, after returning, he diſgorged on the poor taylor. I believed this ſtory when I was a boy; I diſcredited it when I grew older; and now I confeſs, I think it not in the leaſt incredible. Thus a certain degree of experience leads to ſcepticiſm; but a greater, diſpoſes the mind to pay a due regard to teſtimony.—But I return to our expedition in favour of the murderer *Ragoba*. Our army was ſurrounded and defeated near *Poonah*. We were forced to cry out to the generous *Marrattas*, " we are only poor diſtreſſed merchants, do with us whatever you pleaſe." * That nation did not take advantage of our miſerable ſituation, but only required that we ſhould adhere to former treaties.

WHILE we lay encamped on the fields of *Tulicanoon*, Ragonaut Row, who had a

* Mr. Farmer's ſpeech to the Marratta chiefs.

camp of his own ſeparate from ours, ſent notice to Mr. *C——c*, the grand field deputy who controlled all matters in this glorious expedition, that he had diſcovered three men in his camp, who, *as he ſuſpected*, had a deſign on his life; he deſired to know how he might be permitted to diſpoſe of them. Mr. C——c returned for anſwer, that he was at liberty to diſpoſe of them as he ſhould think proper. Whereupon *Ragoba* puniſhed one of theſe miſerable creatures with the loſs of his eyes; another, with that of his tongue; and the third, he deprived of both his legs by amputation. The laſt unhappy ſufferer ſoon died, through loſs of blood. The tyrant aſſigned ſome fanciful reaſons why one of theſe victims ſhould be deprived of the power of ſpeech; another, of that of walking; and a third, of the ſenſe of ſight.

I NEED not inform you, though you have not been a very long time in India, that draughts and carriages in this country are performed, for the moſt part, by

bullocks.

bullocks. In war, the number of bullocks neceſſary to an army is incredible. It frequently happened, that the balls of the enemy ſacrificed a buffalo, or a bullock. Such accidents, which were not unfrequent, were matter of joy to the men, who, while they carried off the carcaſes, would obſerve, with great wiſdom, that it is a bad wind that blows good to nobody.

I have frequently wondered in what manner the Marrattas, who inhabited a mountainous country, came to be ſuch expert horſemen as they were generally allowed to be; and how they ever thought of maintaining ſuch numbers of horſe-troops: for, from all that I had read or heard, it was the inhabitants of plains, and not of hills, that brought into the field of battle any conſiderable number of cavalry. But this matter ſeemed no longer a myſtery, after I became better acquainted with the geography of Hindoſtan. It is, perhaps, a ſingular appear-

ance in the natural hiſtory of the world, that the vaſt ridge of mountains, which extending from Cape Comorin to the Eaſt India Company's northern Circars, ſeparate the Coromandel coaſt from that of Malabar, do not gradually culminate, as they recede from the level of the ocean, but riſe on either coaſt abruptly to their greateſt height, and form a ſtupendous baſis to a vaſt plain ſtretching along their tops. They do not, like all other ranges of hills, reſemble the roof of a modern houſe, but form a terrace, undoubtedly the nobleſt in the world. On this plain the Marrattas breed and train up their horſes. In the northern countries of Europe, the ſoil is commonly the more fertile the lower its ſituation; becauſe in elevated ſituations, the air becomes too cold for vegetation. But in this climate, elevation of ſituation is rather favourable to every vegetable production; and the Marratta plains are as fruitful and verdant as any in the kingdom of *Bengal*.

WHEN

WHEN I ſay, that the chain of mountains that divide Hindoſtan, ſupport an immenſe plain, I do not mean to ſpeak with geometrical exactneſs: beautiful eminences every where ariſe in it, but theſe bear no proportion to the level ſpace which they diverſify. Theſe eminences are covered with mango and other trees, which are green all the year. I have often walked abroad in the morning in a *Batta* field, after the grain was cut down, in order to enjoy the fragrance of the newly-ſhorn herbs. The ſerenity of the ſky, the genial warmth of the climate, the ſpicy odours that were diffuſed around me, afforded a pleaſure unknown in the climates of Europe, and ſtrongly diſpoſed to a ſpecies of enjoyment ſtill more voluptuous.

THE luxury of fumes and perfumes, is no where cultivated but in Aſia. Your ſmoakers of tobacco in Europe and America, are yet to be taught the art of ſmoaking. In India, the ſmoakers, (that is, every human

human creature) form a pipe of the leaves of a tree that is of an oleaginous and aromatic nature; and having mixed the tobacco with various ſpices, light this pipe, which burns at the ſame time with its contents, and contributes its ſhare to give to the ſpirits the moſt agreeable and the moſt gentle elevation, which terminates in that ſtate, which I know not how to deſcribe ſo well as in the words of Horace—*Dulci ſopore languidæ*. Some of thoſe who refine on the art of ſmoaking, have a cocoa-nut-ſhell placed on a ſtand or tripod, and half filled with water. At the ſurface of the water, a hole is bored, in which is inſerted the end of a cryſtal pipe, which is very long, and wreathed in many folds in the middle. An aperture is made in the upper end of the cocoa-nut-ſhell, in which is introduced the end of a funnel, which communicates with, or is rather a prolongation of, a pan or cenſer, wherein the tobacco is burned with various aromatics. The fumes of this compound are cooled, and rendered extremely pleaſant, by the water; with

which

which I have been told they alſo mix ſome ingredients which I cannot deſcribe.

I KNOW not any place in the world, where there is a greater medley of different nations than there is in the preſidency of Bombay. This region being conveniently ſituated, not only for commerce by ſea with all maritime nations, but alſo for communication by land, with the Perſian empire; part of which having been conquered by *Timur-Beg*, is now a part of the Mogul empire. Here, beſides Europeans of all countries, you meet with Turks, Perſians, Arabians, Armenians, a mixed race, the vileſt of their ſpecies, deſcended from the Portugueſe, and the outcaſts from the Gentoo religion, &c. The Turks that reſort to this place on account of trade, are like the reſt of their countrymen, ſtately, grave, and reſerved; and honeſt in their dealings, though merchants. The Perſians are more gay, lively, and converſible: but I would truſt leſs to their honeſty in matters of trade, than I would to the

the faturnine Turks. The Arabians are all life and fire, and when they treat with you on any fubject, will make you a fine oration in flowing numbers, and a mufical cadence; but they are the moft difhoneft of all. The Armenians are generally handfome in their features, mild in their tempers, and in their nature kind and beneficent. They are a kind of Chriftians, and an honour to that fect. The Turks and Perfians are, for the moft part, ftout-bodied men; but the Arabians are of a fmaller ftature, and flender: yet thefe laft are accounted the beft foldiers. I have been a witnefs to their agility, and I am told their courage is equal to their activity. I faw a kind of war pantomime between three Perfians and three Arabs: they naturally fought in pairs. The Perfians kept their ground, and warded off the blows that were aimed at them in the beft manner they could. The Arabians, on the contrary, when a ftroke was aimed at them, fprung up in the air to an incredible height, and inftantly made an attack

attack on their antagoniſts. In the mean time, both Perſians and Arabs were ſinging, or rather muttering ſome ſentences, which I did not underſtand. The Perſians, I was told, were ſinging the exploits of SHAH-NADIR, and the Arabs were invoking the aſſiſtance of their prophet.

THERE is a race of mortals in this country, that they call *Cafres*, that are ſlaves to every other tribe. They have black woolly hair, and came originally from *Cafraya*, in the ſouth promontory of Africa. I converſe ſometimes with theſe poor devils,—for I think that the opinions and ſentiments of all men, however abject their ſtate, deſerve attention.—They tell me, that the *Moor mans* are better maſters than the *Chriſtian mans*. They are ſenſible of their inferiority in education, at leaſt, if not in nature, to Moors, Hindoos, and Chriſtians; and ſeem contented with their ſituation. They are ſo habituated to ſlavery, that I am perſuaded they

have

have loſt all deſire of freedom; and that they are happier in the ſervice of a good maſter, who is their protector and their God, than they would be in a ſtate of independence: in the ſame manner that a dog would leave the greateſt abundance of food in a deſert, and joyfully perform with his owner, even though he ſhould ſometimes beat him, a long and tedious journey, ſubjected to the pain of hunger and of thirſt.

The natives of this country are more ſlim, and generally of a ſhorter ſtature, than Europeans. It is a curious ſight, to ſee their children running about naked, and ſpeaking by the time they are half a year old. I was aſtoniſhed to be ſaluted by theſe little figures, who, after giving me the *ſalam*, putting their hands to their foreheads, and bowing to the very ground, would aſk for ſomething: for all the children of the lower caſts, are great beggars; and they go ſtark naked until they are nearly arrived at the age of puberty. Their men-

tal faculties, as well as their bodily powers, arrive much fooner at maturity than thofe of Europeans do: yet, it is not true, as is commonly believed, that they fooner decay. Eaftern luxury, which affects novelty only in the *zenana*, feeks for new wives, and foon difcards the old: but many fine women are deferted in this manner; and in general, the women of thirty or forty in this country, are as well favoured as women of that age are in Europe.—A native of India, who confiders a woman merely as an inftrument of pleafure, would be infinitely furprifed at the condefcenfion of a good hale man of fixty, walking with a wife upwards of fifty, hanging on his arm.

Children are all taught reading and arithmetic in the open air. They learn to diftinguifh the letters, and the figures they ufe in their arithmetic (which, I have been told, is a kind of Algebra) by forming them with their own hands, either in the fand or on boards.

MARRIAGES are contracted by boys and girls, and consummated as soon as they arrive at puberty; that is, when the men are thirteen years of age, and the women nine or ten. The marriage ceremony is performed three times; once when the couple are mere infants; a second time, when the gentleman may be about eight or nine years old, and the lady five or six; and the third and last time, at the age I have already specified. Between the first and second marriage ceremonies, the young couple are allowed to see one another: they run about and play together as other children do; and knowing they are destined for each other, commonly conceive, even at that early period, a mutual affection. But after the second time of marriage, they are separated from each other; the bride, especially if she be a person of condition, being shut up in the women's apartment until the happy day of the third and last ceremony, when the priest sprinkles on the bride and bridegroom

abundance of rice, as an emblem of fruitfulneſs.

THESE early contracts are undoubtedly well calculated to inſpire the parties with a mutual and laſting affection. The earlieſt part of life is in every country the happieſt; and every object is pleaſing that recalls to the imagination that bleſſed period. The ductile minds of the infant lovers are eaſily twined into one; and the happieſt time of their life is aſſociated with the ſweet remembrance of their early connection. It is not ſo with your brides and bridegrooms of thirty, forty, and fifty: they have had *previous* attachments; the beſt part of life is paſt before their union, perhaps before they ever ſaw each other.

I HAD once the honour to be preſent at the wedding of a PERSEE of good condition. Of this I ſhall give you a minute deſcription. Important matters you will find in the wri-

tings of grave hiftorians; what I fhall relate, will be fuch trifling circumftances as are below the notice of thofe perfonages, but which, neverthelefs, curiofity might wifh to know.

In Hindoftan, the expence of cloaths is almoft nothing; and that of food, firing, and lodging, to the natives I mean, very trifling. The Hindoos are not addicted to any expenfive vices, their paffions and defires being gentle and moderate. Yet they are frugal and induftrious, and as eager to amafs riches as any of the natives of Europe. A Jew, a Dutchman, or a Scotch pedlar, is not more attentive to profit and lofs. What is the reafon of this? They are lovers of fplendor and magnificence in every thing, but particularly in what relates to their women. It is in their *harams*, but efpecially on occafion of their marriages, that they pour forth the collected treafures of many induftrious years.

The

THE *Perſee* at whoſe wedding I was a gueſt, many weeks before-hand, ſent invitations to his numerous friends and acquaintance, to aſſemble at the fixed time, at a ſpacious hall erected for the occaſion in a beautiful field. It was the dry ſeaſon, when the air was conſtantly mild and ſerene, and the whole vegetable world breathed a delightful fragrance. The hall was formed by bamboos, connected together, as is uſual in that country, and covered with cloth. It was a medium between an houſe and a tent, being leſs ſolid than the former, but more ſubſtantial than the latter. Here the company aſſembled after the heat of the day was over, to the number of ſeveral hundreds. After a rich repaſt, which was ſerved with great regularity, we ſet out to meet the bride, meſſengers having arrived at the hall, to announce her approach. The young *Perſee* was mounted on a camel richly capariſoned, himſelf adorned with a multitude of jewels, and highly perfumed. A number of ſlaves walked by the ſide of the

camel, holding an umbrella over the head of their maſter, while others fanned his face. The company had, as uſual, their palanquins. In the mean time we were entertained by a band of muſic, conſiſting of pipers, blowing very loud on the great pipe with their mouths, and playing with their fingers on another; trumpeters, and a kind of drummers, beating on what they call *tam tams*. The muſic was dreadfully loud, but to my ear not very pleaſant. There was only one tune; nor did I ever hear another during theſe ſix years I have been in India. We arrived at a village, where we were met by the bride, attended by an infinite number of female acquaintance, her near male relations, and a crowd of ſervants. A gentleman's carriage in the ſervice of the Company was borrowed for the bride. It was an open phaeton, drawn in ſlow proceſſion, by four beautiful Arabian horſes.—The practice of borrowing Engliſh equipages, on matrimonial occaſions, is very common; and they are always lent with great good-humour.—As to the

reſt

reſt of the ladies, ſome rode on camels, ſome in carriages drawn by ſpotted buffaloes and bullocks, whoſe horns were tipt with ſilver, and their heads adorned with flowers bound by ribbands *. The bride was a tall and comely young creature; her long black hair falling down over her ſhoulders, and then turned up in wreaths, elegantly adorned with embroidered ribbands and precious ſtones. It was at that moment, when her huſband gave her the *ſalam*, in a modeſt and reſpectful manner, and at a ſmall diſtance, when ſhe ſtood up in the phaeton, veiled only by an umbrella, that I, who had the honour of being near the bridegroom, had a full view of his lovely bride.

AT the end of the village an accident happened, which interrupted, for a ſhort

* This taſte is not peculiar to the Eaſt: In the civil wars of France, *Caſſimir*, the prince palatine, carried off to *Heidelberg*, the plunder he had made in that kingdom, in waggons drawn by oxen, whoſe horns were gilt with gold. This train was accompanied with a band of muſic.

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time, the joy of the day, and filled the minds of hundreds with the moſt alarming apprehenſions. The men, as well as the women, gave a loud ſhriek, and ran in a diſtracted manner, not knowing what they did: even the bride was for a moment deſerted by thoſe of her own religion and kindred, and left to the care of her European drivers. Some unlucky wag had, on purpoſe, ſet ſome ſwine adrift, that were kept by Portugueſe families; and it was the fear of being touched by theſe odious and unclean animals, that turned, for a few minutes, a day of joy into a day of lamentation.—It is impoſſible to deſcribe the horror that both Perſees and Gentoos expreſs at the ſight of a ſow. The very form of that animal is offenſive to them, and makes them ſhudder. It appears as loathſome to them as a toad does to an European: and you may imagine the horror you would feel at the approach of a toad of the ſize of a ſow.

THE

THE ſwine being beat back (in effecting which repulſe, I may juſtly boaſt that I was myſelf the principal hero) we proceeded in joyful proceſſion to the hall; which, ſpacious as it was, was now inſufficient to contain our encreaſed numbers: wherefore, many of the company were ſeated on the graſſy plain, lamps being hung among ſhrubbery on poles of bamboos, fixed without much difficulty in the ſoft and deep ſoil. The hall, illuminated without and within, diſplayed on both ſides, various pictures of elephants and other animals, and alſo of men. The young *Perſee*'s uncle, who ſhewed great attention to myſelf and the other Europeans, informed us, that the portraits we ſaw were Perſian emperors.—There is *Koreſh*, ſaid he; and after naming a number of other princes, he pointed to *Nadir Scha*, and *Kerim Khan* the preſent emperor.—I cannot think that they could, either from tradition, painting, or ſtatuary, have any accurate notion, if any at all, of the par-

ticular ſtature, ſhape, and countenance of Cyrus. The artiſt muſt have been guided merely by fancy.

VARIOUS kinds of refreſhments having been, after ſhort intervals, preſented to the company, we were at laſt entertained with a ball, which laſted all night. The ladies were placed by themſelves on one ſide of the hall, and the gentlemen by themſelves on the other. The women wore their veils; but theſe were not drawn ſo cloſely over the face, but that we could get a peep at their eyes and noſes. When their veils were drawn back, in order that they might enjoy the refreſhment of being fanned, we could diſcover their necks and their fine hair. Indeed, on occaſion of weddings, the veil, as I have been aſſured, ſits more looſely on the ladies than at other times.—There was not the leaſt communication between the men and the women; no not a whiſper. The men converſed among themſelves; and

and the women obſerved a profound ſilence, looking ſtraight forward, with inexpreſſible ſweetneſs and modeſty.

BUT now appears a ſpectacle which commands ſilence among the gentlemen as well as the ladies, and draws the attention of every part of the hall. A company of ſtrolling dancing girls from Surat, appear on a platform raiſed about two feet above the floor. Violins were now added to the band of muſic, and preſently the dance began. The *balladieres* (for that is the name by which the dancing girls are diſtinguiſhed on this ſide of Hindoſtan) are dreſſed in the gaudieſt manner that the luxuriant fancy of the eaſt can conceive. Their long black hair falling over their ſhoulders in flowing ringlets, or braided and turned up, is loaded with precious ſtones, and ornamented with flowers. Their necklaces and bracelets are enriched in the ſame manner; even their noſe-jewels, which at firſt ſight appear ſhocking to an European, have ſomething pleaſ-

ing, after cuſtom has worn off the effect of prejudice, and by a certain ſymmetry, ſet off all the other ornaments. Nothing can equal the care they take to preſerve their breaſts, as the moſt ſtriking mark of beauty. In order to prevent them from growing large or ill-ſhaped, they encloſe them in caſes made of exceedingly light wood, which are joined together, and faſtened with buckles of jewels behind. Theſe caſes are ſo ſmooth and pliant, that they give way to the various attitudes of the body without being flattened, and without the ſmalleſt injury to the delicacy of the ſkin. The outſide of theſe caſes is covered with a leaf of gold, and ſtudded with diamonds. They take it off and put it on again with ſingular facility. This covering of the breaſt conceals not from the amorous eye, palpitations, heavings, various tender emotions, nor aught that can contribute to excite deſire: while at the ſame time it leaves ſomething for the ſpectator *to gueſs* *. The balladieres

* The D——ſs of K——n, then Miſs Ch——h, appeared, in the reign of the late king, in a dreſs which diſcovered

balladieres imagine that they heighten the beauty of their complexion, and the impreſſion of their countenances, by tracing black circles round their eyes, with a hair bodkin dipped in the powder of antimony. On their ankles, beſides jewels, they wear bells, which they think have a good effect; but which, I confeſs, I do not admire.

THE *balladieres*, it muſt be obſerved, are not all of the ſame rank or condition. It is only the higher ranks among them, who, I have been told, are conſecrated to the uſe of the *Bramins*, the firſt caſt in this ſuperſtitious country, that can afford to have a load of diamonds. Nor do the balladieres of this claſs ſtroll through the country. But if the common dancing girls are not uſually adorned with diamonds, they have other precious ſtones and ornaments that ſtrike

diſcovered ſo great a part of her charms, that his M—y ſaid, ſhe left *nothing to gueſs*.

with equal effect. In every other respect, their dress resembles that of the balladieres of the first rank.

When these girls dance, they do not hop, cut, and skip like our actresses in Europe; they never lift their feet high. Their dances would not be suffered, it must be owned, in an assembly of European ladies. They express, by mute action, all the raptures and extravagancies of the passion of love, when in deep retirement, concealed from every prying eye, the happy lovers, throwing aside all restraint, yield to the irresistible impulse of the most ardent desire of nature. Nor is mute action the whole of this scene. The girls accompany their wanton attitudes with lascivious songs, until, overcome by the power of imagination, and the strength of perfumes, their voices die away, and they become motionless; which is the conclusion of this *opera*, shall I call it, or *pantomime?*—The ball lasted until morning. Refreshments were presented to the

company

company at ſhort intervals during the night. The bride was accompanied to the houſe of her huſband only by her neareſt relations. The Hindoo ladies were in like manner taken care of by their huſbands or kindred. As to the balladieres, they were eſcorted home by Europeans.

MODERATE in every other reſpect, the Hindoos love to exceſs. I was curious to know what were the common topics of converſation among this people; for they are very ſociable, meeting together frequently at each other's doors, and ſmoaking all day long. Upon inquiry, I found they were ever talking about their wives; their age, their qualities, their numbers, and their proſpects of getting new ones, &c. &c. The barbarous nations in America talk of hunting and war; in England, the people talk on politics; in Scotland, of religion; in France, of the grand monarque; in Hindoſtan, the conſtant theme is love and marriage.—There are ſeveral analogies, which occur to my imagination at

at the moment of writing this, between the peninſula of Hindoſtan and that of Italy; which I ſhall commit to paper without examining them. The Hindoos were once a flouriſhing and powerful people; and their knowledge, religion, and laws, ſpread over many countries of Aſia. In like manner, the knowledge, the religion, the laws of Rome, enlightened and bleſſed the nations of Europe: But, in proceſs of time, the Roman empire was over-run, and broken into many independent ſtates, by irruptions of northern barbarians. Such was alſo the fate of the Hindoo empire, which was conquered and torn in pieces by the Mogul Tartars.—The ſtates of Italy at this day are only nominal ſovereignties, being dependent on the emperor, France, and Spain. In like manner, the princes of Hindoſtan have long depended on the protection of one or other of the powers of Europe.—The Italians of the preſent time, are an unwarlike, effeminate, and indolent people, delighting only in love and muſic. This is alſo ex-

actly

actly the character of the modern Hindoos. Other refemblances might be traced between thefe nations: but on the fubject of refemblances, one is apt to grow fanciful; therefore I proceed not any further on this topic.

I HAVE endeavoured, at various times, to lead the natives of this country into a free converfation on Europeans, and their tyranny; but I found them very referved. They often complained of the infolence of the common foldiers. The *warrior caft* in Europe, they fay, muft be very bad mans.—I once overheard a converfation between a Moor who kept a fhop in Bombay and one of our corporals. The corporal afked the price of fome cheefe; the Moor demanded a rupee (half a crown) a pound; the corporal, after a torrent of abufive language mixed with threatenings, fwore that he could purchafe better cheefe in Europe for four pence. "Well, mafter," faid the cheefemonger, "I fuppofe very "few in this country will hinder you from "going

"going to Europe to buy it."—This was the ſtrongeſt inſinuation of the diſlike in which Europeans are held here, that I ever heard from any of the natives of Hindoſtan. — I overheard at another time, a converſation between a Moor and one of our men, on the ſubject of religion. After a good deal of diſputation, in the courſe of which the Chriſtian loſt his temper, and poured forth the greateſt curſes on Mahomet and all his followers; the diſciple of the great prophet, with great calmneſs, replied, "Maſter, why do Chriſtians curſe Mahomet? we Mahometans never curſe Jeſus Chriſt." The ſoldier, provoked beyond meaſure at this compariſon, would certainly have knocked the Moor down, if his paſſion had not found vent in a very ſeaſonable * volley of imprecations.

IN

* Although ſwearing be a heinous ſin, yet does it ſometimes prevent other ſins, if not more criminal, yet more grievous in their nature. A choleric gentleman in the north of England, the proprietor of a coal mine, uſed to curſe his colliers on occaſions, which afforded him preſent relief from the diſtracting fury of anger. But as he was a great

IN Bombay, where people of ſo many different nations are collected together, there is a kind of language, which is compoſed of the moſt common words of the languages of each nation, and of natural ſigns. Converſation is carried on, in a great meaſure, by geſticulation, pointing, and various diſtortions of countenance. This affords to a ſtranger a ludicrous ſpectacle. The Hindoos ſpeak in a very loud tone of voice, inſomuch that it appeared diſagreeable to me, before cuſtom, that reconciles us to every thing, rendered it familiar: Yet their voices are not harſh, but naturally ſweet and melodious. The men ſhave their heads, but all the women wear their hair long. The Jews and Perſees wear long beards: but the Gentoos, whoſe religion preſcribes cleanlineſs of perſon, ſhave their heads, leav-

great ſtammerer, he had not curſes always at command; in which caſe he was wont to beat them. Wherefore, when the poor colliers ſaw him ready to burſt with rage and unable to ſpeak, they would now and then ſay, "O! if your honour could get up an oath or two!—"

ing only a ſmall tuft on the crown, their beards, arm-pits, &c. &c. The trade of a potter is an excellent one in this country; for the Gentoos never uſe the ſame pot or plate twice; that would be pollution; but as to plates, their place is generally ſupplied by the broad and tough leaves of banyan trees; and they uſe no ſpoons. Ladles they have, made of the ſhell of the cocoa-nut, with which they ſerve up their rice, which is commonly mixed with ghee, (a kind of half-made butter, which they keep freſh in leather bottles for years, without ſalt) and ſpices, which make it a very ſavoury and nouriſhing food. This they eat, not with knives and forks, but with their fingers. The carnivorous appetites of Europeans ſhock them; for, the warrior-caſt excepted, the Gentoos eat no fleſh meat. Certain other caſts are allowed to eat fiſh. Of the Engliſh particularly, they ſay, ſhaking their heads, "Ah! Engliſhmans eat every thing, fight every thing."

INDEED, I muſt ſay, that I was diſguſted myſelf at the practice, ſo common among Europeans as well as Moors, of eating ſnakes and frogs. The frog of this country is as large as a chicken. It makes a loud croaking noiſe in the tanks and fields in the evenings. This ſupplies the place of the melody of European birds. The frogs are fed with great care after they are caught. I am told by the frog-eaters, that they are moſt delicate food. I take their word for it. The late General Wedderburne was ſo fond of frogs, that he kept a frog-catcher, as gentlemen in Europe keep fowlers.

THERE is a kind of ſerpents, capable of being tamed, which become domeſtics in families, and which undoubtedly have a ſenſibility to the charms of muſic; for, at the ſound of a violin, they raiſe their heads, and move their bodies in concord to the muſical notes. When you ſtroke their beautiful backs, they ſeem ſenſible of the careſs, their

necks and heads moving more briſkly to the muſic, and their eyes ſparkling with encreaſed luſtre. It was, doubtleſs, in alluſion to this ſpecies of ſerpents, that Solomon ſtigmatized the deaf adder, that *would not be charmed by the voice of the charmer, ſhould he charm ever ſo wiſely.*

I HAVE never yet, either by reading or converſation, obtained any ſatisfactory account of the origin of thoſe ideas of pollution, and ſingular antipathies and abhorrences, which prove ſo great torments to the Hindoos. Different writers have attempted to trace them back to the arts of prieſts and politicians. But prieſtcraft and policy do not inſpire mankind with new deſires and averſions. They may ſanctify and confirm prejudices already entertained; they may improve and heighten them, and uſe them as engines for their own purpoſes; but I apprehend they ſeldom ſtudy to create them. However the ſuperſtructure may be the effect of art, the foundation is laid in nature. It is political wiſdom,

perhaps,

perhaps *, to puniſh unnatural crimes; and in fact they are puniſhed: but does the puniſhment of ſuch crimes originate in views of policy? It is a natural abhorrence that firſt impels men to puniſh them: in the ſame manner that a ſchool-boy is urged by a natural antipathy to kill thoſe odious reptiles that offend his eye in his wandering excurſions in woods and fields.—Europeans are conſcious of many antipathies, which it is impoſſible to trace to any ſource of ſuperſtition or policy: the Aſiatics, in like manner, have theirs; with this difference, that they are at once more violent and more numerous. There ſeems to be a greater irritability in their nerves; they are more forcibly ſtruck by every object.

THE manner of drinking among the Gentoos is remarkable. They religiouſ-

* The preſident Monteſquieu is of opinion, that the puniſhment of unnatural crimes is by no means neceſſary. Nature will maintain her own rights without the intervention of the magiſtrate.

ly avoid touching the veſſel that contains the liquor with their lips, and pour it into their mouths, holding the bottle, or other veſſel, at leaſt at a foot's diſtance. Their idea is, that they would be polluted by ſtagnating water. They will drink from a pump, or of any running ſtream, but not out of a pool.

THE Hindoos preſerve the Aſiatic cuſtom, of which we read in the bible, of threſhing out their corn by the treading of oxen. A pole is fixed in the ground, in the upper end of which is ſet a pivot, which ſerves as an axis for a wheel, or rather a wooden frame, which is turned round by the oxen, and which confines their ſteps to the threſhing-floor. The grain is ſhaken from the huſks and the ſtraw by the beating of their feet and legs. A couple of oxen will threſh two or three hundred buſhels of rice a day.— There have been various attempts in Europe to contrive a machine for threſhing corn, the moſt laborious and expenſive operation

operation in husbandry. Might not our farmers for once take a hint from the Asiatics, and try the method of threshing by means of oxen? The threshing-floor is formed by spreading on the surface of a spot of level ground, a paste composed of water, earth, and cow-dung. This operation is performed by the women.

THERE is not a more precious substance in the eyes of the Gentoos, than cow-dung. It is not perhaps known in Europe, that cow-dung is an infallible preservative against the destructive effects of all kinds of vermin. It is for this reason, that it is used in forming threshing-floors. It is for the same reason, that it is used as plaister to the houses, which are overlaid with this substance, mixed with water and a very little earth, both without and within. A layer of this composition being spread on the walls, and sufficient time being allowed for it to dry, a second stratum is added, for the purpose of filling up any chinks that may be occasioned by excessive drought. A smooth

and ſolid paſte being thus formed, it is white-waſhed with a very fine and white lime made of oyſter-ſhells. Theſe white walls are variegated without as well as within, by the figures of different animals, eſpecially elephants. But I have not yet fully deſcribed the great importance of cow-dung *. It is not only a neceſſary article both in agriculture and architecture, but alſo in religion. The pollution that is occaſionally conveyed to their houſes by the contact of *Chriſtians*, the Gentoos waſh away by the precious ointment of cow-dung. The pagodas in the iſland of Salſette, having been uſed by our ſoldiers as lodging-places, during the war with the Marrattas, were conſidered as defiled, and were wholly abandoned until they had un-

* When a Perſee prince and a Brahmin were lately in England, Mr. Burke, with his uſual generoſity and public ſpirit, recommended to the Eaſt India Company to provide a handſome lodging for them ſomewhere in the pariſh of *St. James*'s. But had that gentleman been aware of the reverence in which cow-dung is held in India, he would not have fixed upon any part of the pariſh of St. James as a proper reſidence for thoſe ſtrangers, but on West-Smithfield.

dergone

dergone a purification by cow-dung. It is not a little humiliating to a profeſſor of Chriſtianity, that he ſhould be conſidered by the antient and numerous ſect of the Gentoos, as a piece of animated ſubſtance infinitely more loathſome and odious than the excrement of a buffalo or a bullock.

THE Gentoos are undoubtedly groſs idolaters. What are the doctrines of their prieſts, I know not: they worſhip figures of men with elephants heads, and a variety of other images. The human figures which are the objects of their devotion, have many hands, and are enormouſly corpulent. They alſo worſhip different animals: I have ſeen in their temples live bullocks. It occurred to me, that theſe were going to be ſacrificed to their god or gods; but I was ſoon given to underſtand, that they were gods themſelves.

THE Perſians of this country, as is generally known, pay divine adoration to *fire*, but not in a ſenſeleſs and idolatrous manner;

ner; for I have been aſſured by very reſpectable characters among the *Perſees*, that they worſhip fire only as an emblem of the Divinity, and as his chief agent in the ſyſtem of the univerſe.—They never extinguiſh fire. They will ſtand for hours by their lamps, putting up their prayers to God, with folded hands, and their eyes turned towards Heaven with great marks of devotion. They utter ejaculatory prayers all day long, and conſtantly mix buſineſs, and even common converſation, with devotion.

THEY have a ſuperſtitious veneration for cocks and for dogs. They breed great numbers of dogs at their own houſes, and feed them regularly twice every day with rice and ghee. To all dogs, whether their own or not, they are very hoſpitable. Wherever they ſee a dog, they preſently call him, and offer him food. If you walk abroad with a dog in any of the Perſee villages, you preſently hear *jo! jo!* at every turn; every body ſtriving to

be the firſt to entertain your dog. Dogs are alſo ſacred in all the Turkiſh dominions *. The dogs on the iſland of Bombay, a few years ago, were many of them

* In the year 1743, the dogs at Conſtantinople had multiplied ſo exceedingly, that they became an intolerable burthen to the inhabitants, who were obliged to feed them, leſt being ravenous through hunger, they ſhould attack their cattle or even their children, as has ſometimes been the caſe. This became ſo ſerious a matter, that it was taken into conſideration by the Divan. That council was in the greateſt perplexity, not knowing how to redreſs the grievance complained of by the *Conſtantinopolitans*, conſiſtently with the doctrines of their religion, which expreſsly prohibits its votaries from taking away the life of a dog. The Divan was at laſt relieved from their embarraſſment by the ingenuity of the Grand-Vizir. That miniſter obſerved, that though the holy prophet had forbidden all Muſſulmen to kill a dog, he had not however forbidden them to tranſport them from one place to another. He therefore, with the hearty approbation of the Divan, baniſhed the dogs of the Turkiſh capital to a deſert iſland in the Archipelago. Several ſhips were loaded with thoſe paſſengers, who were ſet on ſhore in great ſafety, and who ſoon died miſerably of hunger. The crew of an Engliſh ſhip, that ſailed in the night of the ſecond day after the debarkation of the dogs, faſt by the iſle on which they were landed, were ſtruck with horror at their yelling, the cauſe of which they learnt when they came to Conſtantinople.

mad:

mad: whereupon an order was given by the governor, for killing all dogs without exception. This order being known, the Perſees were greatly alarmed, met together, and entered into a ſolemn league and covenant in defence of their dogs, and threatened to protect *their* lives at the riſque of their own. It was therefore thought prudent, not to inſiſt on the execution of the decree that had been iſſued againſt thoſe faithful and affectionate domeſtics.

How difficult it is to diſtinguiſh the ſentiments of nature, from the prejudices of education! Moſt nations with whom we are acquainted, are careful to bury their dead, and conſider it as a kind of misfortune to their departed friends, if by any accident their inanimate bodies ſhould not be honoured by a decent interment. That very circumſtance, however, which, in the opinion of Homer, and thoſe to whom he addreſſed the Iliad, aggravated the hard fate of thoſe heroes who fell

fell in the Trojan war, whofe unburied limbs were devoured by hungry dogs and ravenous vultures : that very circumftance, fo full of horror to a Grecian mind, would have appeared to a Perfian, matter of the greateft confolation. For the Perfees expofe the bodies of their dead to birds of prey, as the laft good office that friendfhip can perform to the deceafed. They erect for this purpofe fabrics about ten feet high, over the walls of which they fix an iron grate, whereon they place the dead. Thefe buildings are very like kilns, fave that they want roofs. Crows, kites, and vultures, quickly devour the flefh; and the bones, after being bleached for many years, are at laft pulverifed, and drop gradually into the cavity of the building, thus making way for new carcafes.

I PREFER to this, the manner in which the Gentoos difpofe of their dead. They burn their bodies with fandal-wood and other aromatics. A very worthy gentleman of my acquaintance, Captain W—ft, is fo much delighted with this practice, that he

has

has given orders, that his body, after he is dead, ſhall be burnt after the Gentoo manner, with ſandal-wood.—The poor Faqueirs, of whom you have heard ſo often, bury their dead within their very places of habitation, which are ſometimes huts, and ſometimes caverns. The ſelf-denied Faqueirs will lie whole days and nights, covered with duſt, under banyan-trees, confeſſing their ſins, and expiating them by repentance, ſupported only by a bottle of water and a little *gram*, or parched corn, not unlike peaſe, but ſweeter to the taſte. This mendicant order of *religious*, often ſupply our *patty-maurs* * with proviſions on their journies, when, avoided by the ſuperſtitious Gentoos as if they were ſome noxious animals, they would be in great danger of ſtarving.

It is generally known, that the practice of inoculating for the ſmall-pox is common in all Aſiatic countries. But there is an art in Hindoſtan, not yet known in

* Meſſengers or Poſts.

Europe,

Europe, by which the women effectually prevent any traces of the ſmall-pox on the faces of their little ones. This preſervative is compoſed of a ſalve made of certain Indian herbs, and a certain kind of oil, which they apply as ſoon as the pock begins to blacken. I am ſurpriſed that none of the Company's ſurgeons have ever enquired into the nature of this preparation: for, I preſume, if they had, they would have diſcovered it; and the fact, that the Hindoos know how to ſave their ſkins from the ravages of the ſmall-pox, is undoubted.

I SHALL, now I have got on the ſubject of Hindoo ſurgery, mention another operation of the chirurgical kind, which I am well aſſured is attended with the happieſt effects. When any perſon happens to be bruiſed in any part of his body, by a fall, a blow, or otherwiſe, thoſe who are neareſt to him, preſently ſtrip off the greater part of his cloaths, and with the palms of their hands gently rub the afflict-

ed part, and proceeding from that ſpot, rub over, with greater force, the whole of the body. This good office is generally performed by the women, who are indeed the ſurgeons and phyſicians of this country, and who handle their patients with all the eaſy addreſs of the moſt experienced member of the faculty in Europe.

BEFORE the Hindoos riſe from their beds, they ſtretch themſelves, darting out their legs and arms with a ſudden motion ſeveral times. Then they proceed to the doors of their houſes, where they ſit in circles, in order to pick and to waſh their teeth. They fill their mouths repeatedly with water, and holding back their heads, make a croaking noiſe, like ſo many frogs. Thoſe of the Gentoo religion perform divers other ablutions in ſecret.

ALTHOUGH the Hindoos are the meekeſt people on earth, yet they ſometimes quarrel with one another. Will you pleaſe to attend to ſo trifling a deſcription as that

of an Hindoo ſcolding-match? Storms ſometimes diſplay the nature of the ſoil on which they fall.—The enraged parties begin with complaining of each other's injuſtice; and retail a great many moral and religious maxims, which, by that injuſtice, have been violated. They enumerate the acts of violence or of fraud, which their antagoniſts have committed againſt others, as well as themſelves. They undervalue each other's families:—"Your ſiſter went on a certain day to fetch water from the well, and was embraced by a Chriſtian ſoldier:"—"Your father dying young, your mother did not ſhave her head, but made her elopement with a ſepoy:"—"From a niggardly diſpoſition, you violated the laws of our holy religion, by making the ſame earthen pot ſerve you a whole week:"—And, "You got ſo drunk, on one occaſion, with brabtree toddy, that you not only touched the veſſel with your lips, but bit it with your teeth." In this manner they kept ſcolding for the ſpace of ſome hours: but now the contention

becomes fiercer, and the opprobrious terms of Cafre and Hallachore are retorted with great fury. As the laſt poſſible inſult, they pull off their ſhoes, ſpit in them, and throw them in each other's faces *. Anon, they proceed to action, tearing each other's hair, and ſmiting each other, not with their fiſts, but the palms of their hands, like women or children. After they are ſufficiently fatigued by this exerciſe, they part, each declaring that he would have inflicted on his adverſary more ſevere marks of his vengeance, if he did not conſider himſelf as much polluted by touching him, as he would be by coming in contact with a *ſow* or a *Chriſtian*.

I NEVER beheld ſo ſtriking a proof of the influence of food on animal conſtitutions, as in the battles of dogs in this country.

* It ſhould be obſerved, that when the Gentoos enter their temples, or the apartments of any great man, they pull off their ſhoes, and leave them at the door. As appearing in your preſence without ſhoes, is the greateſt mark of reſpect; ſo to throw one's ſhoe in his neighbour's face, is the very laſt mark of contempt.

country. The dogs of ſuch of the natives as feed them only with rice and ghee, are no more a match for the dogs that are bred by the Engliſh, though of the ſame ſpecies, than one of theſe would be a match for a lion. Our ſoldiers take great delight in promoting fights between their dogs and thoſe of the Hindoos, which is a very cruel entertainment.

IT will not ſurpriſe one, who knows the reſolution of Hindoo women in burning with their huſbands, to be told, that there is at preſent in Bombay, a woman, a native of *Mangalore* *, who, aſſuming the habit of a man, enliſted in a company of ſepoys, in order to have a chance of meeting with her ſweetheart, who had enliſted in our ſervice in the laſt war. After having been in one or two engagements, in which ſhe diſplayed a manly courage, ſhe found her lover, to whom ſhe made herſelf known, and became his wife. The wives of the

* Hyder Ally's capital, of the Bednure province.

heymals, as well as their husbands, follow the employment of porters, and are kept to their labour as well as the men, by the terror of a scourge. The constancy and heroism of this lady, has been rewarded by an appointment to the office of overseer of the wives of the *cookies*. I have seen her with her *rattan* in her hand, acting in the capacity of a female serjeant.

THERE have been frequent instances of the daughters of Moors and Persees marrying, with the consent of their parents, European gentlemen; but I do not know, that ever an European married a Gentoo. The ladies, I believe, might sometimes be prevailed on to sacrifice religious prejudices to the power of all-conquering love, if they were not restrained by the authority of their parents.—Lieutenant L—th, happening to walk abroad in the suburbs of Bombay, perceived a very beautiful lady looking from a window of a house, one of the walls of which almost touched that of the garden in which it was enclosed.

closed. He ſtopped to contemplate her charms; which the lady perceiving, ſhe inſtantly withdrew into her apartments. Mr. L—th kept his ground, in hopes that his charmer would appear again at the window: nor were his hopes deceived; for, whether from curioſity, the vanity of being admired, or the dawn of a paſſion ſimilar to that which began to fire the lieutenant, ſhe approached the window again, but without looking out, as ſhe had done before. Her admirer bowed reſpectfully, and endeavoured, by natural ſigns, to make her ſenſible of the tender emotions which ſhe had inſpired. How eloquent is nature, even unaſſiſted by the power of ſpeech! The lady ſeemed to comprehend his meaning: for after darting a ſhort glance, which did not expreſs either averſion or contempt, ſhe ſhook her head, and forthwith retired. The lieutenant, who could think on nothing but this ſcene, repaired to the ſame ſpot next day, at the ſame hour. After waiting for ſome time, the lady happened again to look out at

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the window; and the ſame mute expreſſion was renewed, which had paſſed the day before, but longer continued.

Although the Eaſt India Company make a conſiderable addition to the pay of ſuch officers in their ſervice as underſtand the language of the natives, Mr. L—th, who is by no means a lover of money, had never given himſelf the trouble of acquiring it: but now, to the ſurpriſe of all his acquaintance, he became a great ſtudent, and his only companion was *Richardſon*'s *Perſian Dictionary*. He ſoon acquired as much Perſian, as enabled him to expreſs in words, what he endeavoured to communicate to his angel by the language of nature. In the mean time, his viſits were regularly repeated, and the lady did not fail to give him audience. The time of meeting was changed from day to night, whoſe ſilent ſhade is favourable at once to the ſucceſs of lovers, and the delicacy of their paſſion. Mr. L—th and his Gentoo fair one, now glowing with a mutual

mutual flame, exchanged the ſentiments of their hearts, at a diſtance from each other, like Pyramus and Thiſbe, but met with a kinder fate: for the lady, having arrayed herſelf in her richeſt robes, adorned with all her jewels, at the hour of midnight threw herſelf, by means adapted to the delicacy of her frame, into the arms of her lover; thus bidding an eternal adieu to her father's houſe, her kindred, and religion. The father of this young woman made grievous complaints to the governor of Bombay, of the conduct of Mr. L—th, who, he affirmed, had degraded his daughter below the rank of an Hallachore, and brought an indelible diſgrace on his family. In ſhort, he prayed, that, as ſome reparation to the dignity of his houſe, Lieutenant L—th might be diſmiſſed from the Company's ſervice.

The governor replied, that if Mr. L—th had uſed either fraud or violence, in order to carry off his daughter, not only would the Company have diſcarded

him from their ſervice, but the Britiſh laws would have inflicted ſeverer puniſhments: but ſince it appeared, that what had happened was with the lady's conſent, it was incompetent to him or the Britiſh government, to ſtigmatize, in any ſhape, the lieutenant's conduct.—Mrs. L—th has for ever loſt the regard of her family; but that circumſtance only ſerves to endear her the more to the heart of an affectionate and generous huſband.——

On looking back to the date when I began to write this letter, I find it has furniſhed employment for my leiſure hours for five days.—I might give you a great deal more of this bagatelle, but the pattymaur ſets out for Calcutta to-morrow.

I am, &c. &c.

LETTER

LETTER XLIV.

To J—— M——, Efq; London.

Calcutta, Nov. 18, 1779.

IF the Britifh nation would derive all the advantages from the foil of Hindoftan, and the ingenuity of the natives, which they are capable of yielding, they muft refolve to treat the Hindoos, not as flaves or inferior animals, but as fellow-men, entitled to protection, liberty, and juftice. Thefe alone infpire thofe habits of induftry, which are the life of commerce. The mifery and defolation which have been occafioned by tyranny and injuftice, will at laft open the eyes of oppreffors, and expofe to their view the folly as well as the enormity of their crimes. But it is not lefs difgraceful to the Englifh, than it is unfortunate for the Hindoos, that Juftice, if

if ſhe make her appearance at all, will come too late; and that liberty will not be the voluntary offering of generoſity, but a tribute to ſelf-intereſt, taught by long experience the pernicious conſequences of oppreſſion, even to oppreſſors.

A PEOPLE enjoying, like the Engliſh, the bleſſings of liberty themſelves, ſhould be the laſt in the world to impoſe ſlavery on others: but the hiſtory of the world ſufficiently proves, that the freeſt governments have been the ſevereſt maſters to their dependents; ſo little influence in public as well as in private conduct, has that juſt maxim in morality, "To do unto others whatever, in their ſituation, we ſhould think reaſonable in them to do to us." But, as in private life, experience evinces, that virtue leads to happineſs, and vice to miſery; ſo, it is to be hoped, will the ruinous conſequences of oppreſſion, teach the governors of kingdoms the wiſdom of political juſtice. The time, I hope, is not far diſtant, when the natives

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of India, who have ſo long languiſhed under ſlavery, will have reaſon to aſſume for their motto,

"Libertas, quæ ſera tamen reſperit inertem."

THE moſt important point which the legiſlature of Britain will have to ſettle in Hindoſtan, when they ſhall come to make new arrangements in that country, will be, the tenure of territorial property.—Give me leave to propoſe to your conſideration, and through you, Sir, to the conſideration of ſuch of our friends as are particularly intereſted in the affairs of India, the following thoughts on this ſubject.

ALL nations who acknowledge ſubjection to a ſupreme head, whether this ſubmiſſion hath been acquired by conqueſt, or yielded by compact, have committed a *virtual* property of the whole ſoil of the country *in reverſion*, to the ſovereign power; to the end, that this ideal veſtiture may render the actual poſſeſſor amenable to the eſtabliſhed laws of the community, and the property

property itſelf feudatory, and chargeable with ſuch burthens and taxes, being equitably apportioned, as the public exigencies may require: but in every other view, the real property of the ſoil is veſted in the poſſeſſor, according to the particular conditions on which the lands were originally conceded to the individual members of the community, or declared in formal compacts between the ſtate and its ſubjects. No conſideration whatever ſhould be ſuffered, directly or indirectly, to invade the fundamental laws of the conſtitution, provided that the preſervation of the conſtitution itſelf does not render certain alterations in theſe laws indiſpenſably neceſſary. I ſay, directly or *indirectly*; becauſe innovations acquieſced in, are converted into precedents, and precedents eſtabliſhed in laws. The evils ariſing thence cannot be remedied without violence; and the reſtoration of good order muſt neceſſarily be preceded by anarchy and bloodſhed; for the ſovereign power gradually aſſumes greater prerogatives than originally belong-

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ed to it, and, its invaſions and influence reciprocally ſtimulating and ſtrengthening each other, tyranny ſeizes the reins of government, and rules with a rod of iron, until the people, reduced to extremities, are forced, in ſelf-defence, to aſſert their conſtitutional and natural rights, thus blended together, which is only to be effected by the death of the tyrant.

THE Hindoo conſtitution, on principles of the ſoundeſt policy, was continued unaltered even after the Mogul conqueſt, and during the ſeveral ſucceſſive ſtages of that government in Hindoſtan. But the Mogul empire was ſhaken into pieces by the bold ambition of ſubordinate princes, who at once departed from their allegiance to the emperor of *Delhi*, and exerciſed on their ſubjects the moſt wanton cruelties; to which cruelties their own lives, for the moſt part, fell ſacrifices.

MIRACULOUS ſucceſſes in the field, and the gratitude of the emperor, laviſhed without

without bounds or meaſure, have raiſed the Engliſh Eaſt India Company to the dominion of a vaſt extent of territory, and over twice the number of inhabitants contained in Great Britain, as well as the high prerogative of being arbiters of all Hindoſtan. But inſtead of improving theſe advantages, they have in reality converted them into diſadvantages: for, intoxicated by a flow of proſperity that they neither deſerved nor were able to bear, they abandoned themſelves to the government of paſſion; ſubverted the original conſtitution of the country ſubjected to their power; and perplexed it with a compoſition of law and form, as little known to the Britiſh conſtitution, as that into which they have violently incorporated it. The immediate effect of ſo fatal an error, was the depopulation of thoſe flouriſhing countries whence they drew their greateſt wealth. Several fertile tracts were laid wholly waſte; agriculture, manufactures, induſtry of every kind, were every where diſcountenanced; and oppreſſion, in

all

all its dreadful forms, not only connived at, but encouraged. Inceſſant acts of public injuſtice and private outrage perpetrated with impunity, have excited all the powers of India into a confederacy againſt Engliſh uſurpations, treachery, and breach of public faith; and taught the natives the art of war, and the uſe of arms.—Arms not inferior to thoſe of Europe, are now manufactured in the very heart of Hindoſtan.

I OBSERVED, in a former letter, that many of the Hindoo tribes, moſt or all the deſcendants of Moors, and the numerous emigrants from Perſia and its borders, are brave and cool in battle. Having the ſame weapons, and being under equal diſcipline, they may, doubtleſs, become a match for their countrymen, ſerving in the army of the Company. The want of European auſpices may be compenſated by numbers, perhaps by the invincible ſpirit of liberty and genuine patriotiſm. Theſe are ſerious objects of conſideration.

confideration. An inattention to thefe things has already produced the moft alarming difadvantages in trade, and difappointments in revenue, and feems, indeed, to threaten the extinction of the prefent Eaft India Company.

In order to remedy thefe evils, and avert that danger, juftice and found policy fhould go hand-in-hand, to convince the people of India, that however corrupt the practices of Britifh emigrants, the regular adminiftration of juftice at home was ftill maintained in its full vigour;—that however the ftreams may have contracted pollution in the length of their courfe, the Britifh fountain was yet pure; and that the abufes in India fprung from the concealed evil meafures of the Company's principal fervants, an unwarranted mifapplication of power, confequent mifreprefentations of facts and circumftances, and diftance of place, which, until now, had fhut up the avenues to truth.

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A GENTLEMAN of the moft diftinguifhed abilities, and a trufty fervant to the Eaft India Company, has devoted as much of his time and ftudy, as the avocations of duty would allow, to a thorough inveftigation of Hindoftan tenures, and of the moft effectual means of reftoring to that paradife of nations its former fplendor. The refult of his honeft and diligent refearches he communicated to the Court of Directors in that eafy, fluent, and convincing ftrain, which characterifes him as a writer as well as a fpeaker; for which, I have been informed, he received their warmeft acknowledgments. It is faid, that he modeftly reprobated the meafures heretofore purfued, in general terms, fome of which, however, were pretty pointed; and that his own plans are founded on principles of juftice and benevolence towards the natives, whofe rights and political conftitution he wifhes to preferve inviolate, gently tempered with fuch innovations only as tend to protect liberty and property, and to procure a fixed revenue

to the Britiſh nation, and a beneficial trade to the India Company. After ſo able a man has reduced his obſervations on the preſent ſtate of India to a ſyſtem for its future ſettlement, it may appear preſumptuous in one of inferior abilities and leſs knowledge, to enter upon the ſame ſubject. But as the paper which that gentleman ſubmitted to his employers, and through them to government, has not yet tranſpired, I ſolicit his permiſſion to make a few ſhort obſervations on the ſame matters which he has treated; at the ſame time that I confeſs the flattering pleaſure I ſhould feel, if my ideas ſhould be found in general to coincide with thoſe of Mr. Francis.—In the mean time,

I am, &c.

Sir Philip Francis, reputed author of Junius

LETTER

LETTER XLV.

To J—— M——, Efq; London.

Calcutta, Nov. 21, 1779.

EVEN Mr. Haftings, while his judgment was directed by his innate feelings, and before the nobleft paffions of the human heart were fuperfeded by principles of a lefs honourable nature, favoured, in the ftrongeft terms, the idea of indulging the natives of Hindoftan in the enjoyment of their original conftitution, as effential to the fecurity and profperity of the Company's poffeffions and trade. This fyftem he recommended by the moft convincing arguments, in a letter to the Court of Directors, dated the 24th of March 1774, accompanying the tranflation

 of

of the two firſt ſections of the Gentoo laws*.

IF

* *Abſtract from Mr. Haſtings's Letter.*

"From the labours of a people, however intelligent, whoſe ſtudies have been confined to the narrow circle of their own religion, and the decrees founded upon its ſuperſtitions; and whoſe diſcuſſion, in the ſearch of truth, have wanted that lively aid, which it can only derive from a free exertion of the underſtanding, and an oppoſition of opinions; a perfect ſyſtem of juriſprudence is not to be expected.

"Yet if it ſhall be found to contain nothing hurtful to the authority of government, or to the intereſts of ſociety, and is conſonant to the manners, ideas, and inclinations, of the people for whoſe uſe it is intended, I preſume, that on theſe grounds, it will be preferable to any which even a ſuperior wiſdom could conſtitute in its room.

"It is from this conviction, and from an apprehenſion of the effects which a contrary opinion might produce, that I have been ſo earneſt in tranſmitting theſe ſheets for your information; as they will afford, at leaſt, a proof *that the people of this country do not require our aid to furniſh them with a rule for their conduct, or a ſtandard for their property.*

"I have ventured to ſay thus much on a ſubject which may poſſibly appear to have been irregularly obtruded upon your notice, becauſe reports have a long time prevailed, and been communicated to us by the beſt of

private

IF this mild and wiſe ſyſtem ſhall be adopted, it will be neceſſary, in the firſt place,

private authority, of an intention to frame new courts and forms of judicature for the inhabitants of theſe provinces. Whatever foundation theſe reports may have in truth, or whatever may be the extent or principles of the juriſdiction herein ſuppoſed, *I cannot but expreſs my hope, that nothing of this kind may be finally concluded,* without an opportunity being given to the members of your adminiſtration, to communicate ſuch ideas as their experience may ſuggeſt to them; and this I conceive to be my duty, from the conſideration of the hurtful effects which an unadviſed ſyſtem might poſſibly produce, to the quiet of the people, and the ſecurity of your revenue."

In the Sections of Gentoo laws referred to by Mr. Haſtings, are ſome paſſages which do ample juſtice to the ſentiments and opinions which he expreſſed and recommended.—Under the head of *ſecurity for debts*, the principles are literally conformable to the common law of England, and ſtrictly conſonant to equity in Sect. III. par. 123 and 4.—So par. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 13. 14. are novel to the Engliſh conſtitution, but remarkably juſt and equitable: the 15th par. diſtinguiſhes the very wiſe ſpirit of their inſtitutions: viz.

"A man ſhall not accept for ſecurity, a perſon totally "unknown to him; his own maſter; an enemy; a priſoner; a very old man; a partner living in the "ſame family; a friend, or a pupil."—

place, to fix a conſtitutional head or ſovereignty over Hindoſtan, as I have obſerved in a former letter. Without this, no line of polity can be purſued, either with propriety or ſecurity.

THE ſeveral branches which compoſe the landed revenue, ſhould be reduced to a plain ſyſtem, and made intelligible even

Section IV. On diſcharging debts to whomſoever due, par. 21. it ordains that,

"If a man dies, having incurred debts by gambling or "by drinking ſpirituous liquors, his ſon ſhall not "diſcharge them." It goes on, ſaying—"This law "is calculated for thoſe perſons in whom gaming "and the uſe of ſpirituous liquors are not accounted "a moral offence."—

Doubtleſs, this ſhort explanation implies, that there are other more ſevere inflictions againſt gaming and drinking, on perſons of the Gentoo faith.

Section V. On perſons incapable of inheritance.—This whole ſection diſcovers ſuch principles of morality and primitive juſtice, and is in many inſtances ſo conformable to many tenets in the Engliſh laws, that it claims the higheſt commendation, and is worthy of imitation in all civil ſocieties.

to the ſimpleſt capacity. The Company's Aſiatic concerns ſhould be freed from that confuſion in which they are involved, and compriſed under the ſeveral heads into which the rents of each diſtrict is conſolidated.—The forms of keeping the accounts, which are unintelligible to any but the natives, ſhould be made diſtinct and ſimple. Much confuſion ariſes in Hindoſtan, from the computation of time from two different æras, each of which is irreconcileable to the Chriſtian. One common æra ſhould be fixed; and in this matter, the prejudices of the natives ſhould be humoured: but it is neceſſary that the periods and denominations made uſe of, ſhould be fully comprehended by the Engliſh, and incorporated, for this purpoſe, into the Engliſh language. The technical terms, which are ſtudiouſly preſerved in the country language, in all the Engliſh writings ſhould be changed for words of the ſame import, as far as that is poſſible, in Engliſh. The complex diviſion of land, and the intricate modes

 of

of collecting the rents, calculated for the purpose of embezzlement, ſhould once for all be eradicated, and a fixed meaſure eſtabliſhed, under a denomination applicable to the quality of the production, and the tenure of each diſtrict.

In general, every complication which can poſſibly have a tendency to oppreſs the ryots, and the body of the people, or to defraud government, land proprietor, or zemindar, ſhould be aboliſhed.

When a regular ſyſtem for the ſettlement of Hindoſtan is once adopted, in order to give it efficacy and permanence, equal to its importance, the natives ſhould receive the moſt clear and ample evidence, that an European government at length wiſely regards their proſperity and tranquillity as interwoven with its own: the firſt and moſt perſuaſive proof of which, will conſiſt in conveying to individuals, ſuch a property in lands, in fee or copy-

hold

hold tenure, with ſuch ſalutary reſtrictions in favour of ſub-tenants, as ſhall yield reciprocal encouragement both to landlord and tenant to improve their poſſeſſions to the beſt poſſible advantage, without dread of ſuperſeſſion.

THIS ſecurity of property to the proprietor or zemindar, and to the induſtrious ryot, againſt both diſpoſſeſſion and oppreſſion, will operate as a barrier againſt treachery in favour of either foreign enemies or domeſtic inſurgents, from whom, if ſucceſsful in their pretenſions to ſupreme power, ſuch indulgent conditions were not to be expected. And thus, by the fidelity and attachment of a numerous people, attached by gratitude and affection to the exiſting government, and increaſing in population, a ſtronger bulwark of defence would be raiſed, without incurring public expences, than by a hoſt of troops, conſuming the major part of the revenues of thoſe territories which they defended. It is imagined, that by this

this mode of granting a property in actual perpetuity, or on leases renewable, at distant periods, to perpetuity, and a division of the most extensive districts and zemindaries into lesser ones, a very large sum would immediately be raised, a similar sum at the expiration of every eleventh or nineteenth year, and an annual reserved rent, equal, if not greater, than the present clear collection.

JUSTICE concurs with sound policy in recommending preferences to such persons, or their descendants, as have formerly had regular grants; or a series of family succession; or fair purchase in possession: who may have acquired such authority and ascendancy over the minds and affections of the people of the district, as may have a tendency to prevent that most dangerous, and most to be dreaded, of all evils, the desertion, (and of course the desolation) of the lands, by the inhabitants flying from oppression to seek refuge under a mild and more equitable

govern-

government: for thus the lands being laid waſte, and the remaining inhabitants impoveriſhed and diſpirited, rents muſt conſequently be encreaſed upon cultivated lands, to make up the ſtipulated engagement of the *temporary* zemindar, which forces both the zemindar and ryot to the neceſſity of deviſing expedients to procure abatements of rent, or to defraud, until both are forced to abſcond, leaving the unwiſe miniſters of government in the unprofitable poſſeſſion of dreary waſtes, to hatch plauſible but falſe pretexts for errors they have committed, and for preſent and ſubſequent deficiencies. This fatal truth was ſeverely exemplified in the year of that dreadful famine which ſweeped off millions of inhabitants. Although there were *irrecoverable* arrears to the amount of eighteen lacks, 38,661 Sicca rupees, or twenty-one lacks, 32,847 current rupees, of *anterior* engagement in arrears to government from the farmers, by over-rating the rents of the diſtricts; yet the adminiſtrators continued, notwithſtanding, to raiſe

raiſe thoſe of the enſuing year, by encouraging favoured perſons of low condition, without either family or credit, to overbid the original zemindars, into the advance of near eleven lacks on the general rent, which in reality, was cruelly adding above thirty-two lacks of current rupees to the meaſure of oppreſſion. It is only a wonder that upon this, as well as ſubſequent occaſions, the natives did not, either move off in a body, ſolicit the more lenient ſupremacy of ſome other power, or periſh in an attempt to recover their rights, and original conſtitution and government, from ſavage uſurpation. By a continuation of ſuch ill-judged meaſures, it may confidently be aſſerted, that, notwithſtanding the deep traces of deſolation and devaſtation which appeared upon the face of the country, and which are feelingly deſcribed in the public records, the remiſſion by government, and balances which are irrecoverable, ſince the adminiſtration of Mr. Haſtings in 1772, will, upon a critical examination, be found to

approach

approach nearer to a million and a half ſterling than to one million. The mighty object of theſe oppreſſive meaſures, was to ſerve *favoured* black dependents, who of courſe were laviſh in preſents *, and to acquire temporary applauſe at home.

THE enormous weight of debt thus ſuſpended over a timid and deſpairing people, forced them to abandon the fields of their nativity, to which an ancient intimacy and lineal intercourſe had attached their fondeſt affections, the trueſt ſource of fidelity to government, and incitement to induſtry. After ſuch long and painful miſeries, an effectual change in the ſyſtem of government will reſtore a happineſs to the natives, not unlike what the ingenious

* The Governor's Banyan Cawntoo-baboo, enjoyed leaſes of zemindaries to the amount of thirteen lacks and an half annually; and he had contracts, at the ſame time, of the value of ſixteen lacks. And it is alledged, that beſides jewels, the Ranny of Burdwan alone gave twelve lacks of rupees, in preſents, to her patrons. Admirable partiality!!!

fancy of ancient poets afcribed to the golden age.—But to effect this; to retrieve the devaftations committed by collectors and their train of harpies; to raife the drooping fpirits of the ryot, from fad defpair to confidence and hope; to re-people and fettle the deferted and uncultivated tracts, and to apply the unfertile foil to fuch ufes as it is qualified to bear, will require fteadinefs, probity, judgment, application, and time.

A POWER of immediate punifhment, not incompatible with the fecurity of property, muft indifpenfably be vefted fomewhere, not remote from each feveral diftrict; and all reftraints and taxes for the public fervice, be laid with as equal and light a hand as the exigencies of ftate will allow. The people of all degrees and denominations being once fenfible of the effect and ftability of the eftablifhed regulations, numbers from diftant countries will be invited by the alluring temptations thus offered

offered to induſtry and ingenuity, and an increaſe of wealth and population will naturally follow in quick ſucceſſion.

AMONG the many advantages that may be expected to flow ſpontaneouſly from theſe inſtitutions, conſiderable ſavings in the expenditures of government will be manifeſted in the charges of collection, becauſe the preſent mode of conſtituting provincial councils will of courſe be aboliſhed; in the charges of, and the batta allowed upon, diſtant remittances; in the charges of the courts of Adawluts, Phouzdary, and Cutchery; in the charges of ſupporting the Pool and Dow-bunds; and in the various other chargeable departments, both in the country and at the preſidency, which will become totally unneceſſary. It will be deemed a low eſtimate to ſuppoſe, that theſe ſavings may be computed equal to a quarter, or a third part, of the entire revenues.

To

To apply rules with effect, for eftablifhing manufactures and commerce, fhould be a leading maxim in the conftitution of a colony, holding of, and depending on, a maritime and commercial nation. In Europe, the laws concerning thefe, except in Britain, Holland, and fome inconfiderable republics, are *yet* fimple, and fometimes ill-judged; becaufe although rivality in trade be gaining ground faft, the profeffion of a merchant, and its general utility to the ftate, have not acquired fuch an afcendancy in the deliberation of ftate-cabinets, as to counterbalance that adroitnefs which is conftitutional in the people of Afia, fome tribes of whom have equal ambition and avarice with Europeans, but whofe other paffions are never inflamed by liquors, ftrong viands, and focial debaucheries: an advantage which they underftand too well, not to avail themfelves of the lucrative opportunities it affords.

Since the Engliſh became rulers of extenſive dominions and trade in Hindoſtan, a new field was opened to a ſubtle claſs of people, who, until that time, held but a middle rank in the country, Banyans and Circars. Theſe have faſtened themſelves ſo ſecurely in the ſprings of every kind of buſineſs, and ſuch unlimited confidence, that the moſt trifling, as well as the moſt important tranſactions, are not only conducted, but projected by them; and Europeans are, for the moſt part, not only at the mercy, but under the inſenſible dominion of perſons, whoſe art and addreſs introduce, in their deportment, an obſequiouſneſs and apparent ſubmiſſion, expreſſive of the duty of a ſervant to his maſter.

The complicated connections and ſecret intercourſes between Banyans, Circars, Gomaſtahs, Pycars, and Dellols, added to deep artifice, and conſequent power, maintain their uſurpations on the Europeans, as well as on the manufacturers and

ryots; who alſo delegate to the ſame agents the power of negociation. Thus they act in the two-fold capacity of ſeller and purchaſer, reaping the advantages of commiſſion and fraud from both, and deſignedly obſtructing with peculiar acuteneſs, thoſe perſonal interviews which would naturally beget confidence, ſo eſſential to the intereſts of both parties.

THIS wiſhed-for intercourſe and confidence, which the plan for the reception of crude and manufactured goods into public warehouſes, and inſtant payment without the chargeable and fraudulent mediation of brokers, can alone promote and effectuate, will be the happy means alſo, of reſtoring to goods their former qualities at the former prices, without injuring the manufacturer or ryot; as in lieu of the difference in quality and price, they will ſave a greater difference in the emoluments and advance prices uſurped by European agents, in the Nazaranas, brokerage, diſcount on coins, intereſt uſuriouſly charged on ad-

vances,

vances, fines for imaginary breaches of contract, and a list of factitious taxes fraudulently trumped up to impose on the ignorant manufacturers and ryots, whose good faith is thus cruelly abused in clandestine contracts.

VARIOUS are the ways which the art and ingenuity of men, aiming at the acquisition of riches, devise and practise to impose upon the mass of the people, who from ignorance, a simplicity of education, and habit, are taught to place implicit faith in those who exercise trade, as Banyans, Shroffs, Circars, Gomastahs, Pycars, and Dellols. These dark impositions are, in their own consequences, peculiarly distressing to the country, having a direct tendency to discourage industry and prevent population. If justice does not animate the members of government, in whom all constitutions have necessarily vested guardian authority to interpose their power; sound policy, and the interests and safety of the state, having a view even to an

early futurity, will point to the ſpeedy correction of general abuſes, by the ſeaſonable application of ſuch remedies as are moſt likely to prove efficacious, at a time, when it is hoped and expected that a general reform is agitated.

The complicated qualities of weights and meaſures in India, are much too intricate and perplexed for the comprehenſion and comparative eſtimations of perſons not maſters of the ſcience of arithmetic, not to ſubject them to abuſes, as well in the ſale of their commodities, as in the purchaſe of neceſſaries. Therefore, the reduction of weights and meaſures to fixed legal ſtandards, throughout, will prove materially uſeful in the general line of commerce; and particularly to the induſtrious and laborious claſſes of people, in a country where the banyans, ſhroffs, and agents of European merchants, as well as thoſe of the Company, by a continual courſe of practice, underſtand the rules of proportion, and the intricacies of buſineſs too

too well, not to apply that knowledge, and the ignorance of others, to their own advantage, in all dealings where perplexity is capable of being perverted to the purpoſes of fraud; in the ſame manner as ſhroffs have applied the variety of coins, and reduction of their values, under the hackneyed term *Batta*, to their own emolument, inſomuch that this claſs of Hindoos have acquired an influence, which many have thought dangerous to government, and for that reaſon, ridiculouſly forbore to regulate their abuſes.

I am, &c.

LETTER XLVI.

To J—— M——, Efq. London.

Calcutta, Nov. 24, 1779.

IF the reafoning concerning India affairs, contained in my former letters, be juft, the new arrangements neceffary to a wife and political eftablifhment in Hindoftan, may be reduced to the following heads.

1. The grand preliminary to give folidity and permanency to the new conftitution, will confift in determining to whom the natives owe allegiance as fovereign lord of the country;—protection and care, being as juftly the claim of the people, as fubmiffion is due from them to the fovereign.

2. The

2. THE lands to be granted in fee ſimple, or in copyhold tenure, at fixed, eaſy, quit-rents ;—a fine payable at entry, and every 11th or 19th year in perpetuity. —The lands (without varying the title, or incurring expences) to deſcend to heirs, in lineal or collateral ſucceſſion.

3. THE Hindoos to be the landholders, zemindars, farmers, ryots, and manufacturers; preferences being given firſt to the original proprietors, and their deſcendents; next to perſons of high caſt; then to perſons of original family and influence; and laſtly, to ſtrangers: with a reſervation of proper tracts of country, for the introduction and encouragement of other ſpecies of cultivation and colonization.—Moormen or Mahomedans to be preferred in the adminiſtration of public departments in the revenues and polity of government, being, however, rigidly reſtricted in the power of oppreſſing, or the commiſſion of injuſtice.

4. That the natives ſhall freely enjoy their own laws, cuſtoms, caſts, and religion inviolate, except in inſtances where innovations may tend to render liberty and property more ſafe from arbitrary invaſion.

5. The proprietor or zemindar, as in former times, to be accountable for the internal peace and police of his eſtate or zemindary; with power to hold courts of cutcherry, to adjudge fines and forfeitures to the uſe of the ſovereign, to recover debts, and to inflict corporal puniſhments, not extending to life or limb.—That appeals ſhall lie from the cutcherry court to the ſupreme court in Calcutta, or to aſſizes; on which occaſions, men of approved integrity, in independent circumſtances, and poſſeſſing a clear knowledge of the Gentoo and Mahometan laws, ſhall aſſociate, as expounders of law, with the Britiſh judges. And from the ſupreme court, the cauſe may be appealed to the court of chancery, &c. &c.—And that the judges

of

of the ſupreme court ſhall make their circuits, and hold aſſizes, in the capital of each province, twice in every year.

6. THE quit-rents and rents to be paid in the expreſs terms ſtipulated in the reſpective conceſſions, in current coins, or other ſigns of value by authority, or in manufactures and country produce, at ſtated prices and ſtandard qualities; with ſpecial covenants to encourage and promote ſuch commodities as are proper for manufactures and exportation; and for the general encouragement of manufactures in the moſt extenſive ſenſe.

7. THAT one general current coin ſhall be eſtabliſhed, to circulate freely without any allowance for exchange or batta; and that endeavours be uſed to procure it currency in the dominions of neighbouring princes. That paper, under the denomination of bank notes, be iſſued, and receive effectual currency, as the means of encouraging agriculture, manufactures, and trade;

trade; and as a mode to enable proprietors, zemindars, revenue officers, manufacturers, and traders, to remit their rents and monies to the refpective capitals *, where they are made payable, without incurring either charges or rifque: a confideration of the firft magnitude, in relieving the ryots from oppreffion, and in exciting a general fpirit of induftry.

8. THE Company to receive manufactured commodities and crude productions, proper for exportation, particularly ophium, falt-petre, raw filk, filk and cotton cloths of all kinds (of qualities improved to what the natives had formerly been in the practice of making, and at the former prices) into ftated provincial warehoufes; and all the manufactures which are for fale by individuals, to be received into thefe warehoufes, and immediately paid for, according to the regulation, in money and bank notes.

* Calcutta, Muxadabad, Patna, Dacca, &c.

9. THE

9. THE artificial dykes or banks, to keep rivers within their channels (as a ſecurity againſt violent and unſeaſonable inundations) commonly called *Pool-bundies*, ſhall henceforward become, as a public duty, chargeable upon the ſeveral and reſpective diſtricts that profit by them, and be kept in conſtant repair; ſubject to inſpection, by proper officers, twice in every year; and a delinquency ſhall be puniſhed by a heavy penalty on the principal, for the firſt and ſecond offence, and a forfeiture of property in the lands, without affecting the rights of inheritance, for the third offence committed by the ſame principal. The forfeitures ſhall be at leaſt triple the value of the damages ſuſtained by ryots, and their loſſes ſhall be made good out of them.

10. The ryots, during the punctual diſcharge of rents, taxes, and ſtipulated obligations, incident to their reſpective farms, ſhall not be ſubject to removal, at the caprice or pleaſure of the land-holder

or

or zemindar.—Their poſterity ſhall continue to enjoy an uninterrupted occupancy of lands, without any alteration in the terms and conditions.—An eſtabliſhed tenure of ſub-leaſes ſhall prevail throughout the whole country invariably, unleſs the nature or quality of the crude or manufactured commodities produced, or other material circumſtances, approved by government, ſhall render an alteration neceſſary. —And in order to encourage and promote population and induſtry at home, when families increaſe, and require a greater extent of land to cultivate, or villages to ſettle in, every poſſible indulgence and preference ſhall be deviſed and granted, as well by government as by the land-holders, to inculcate a ſpirit of induſtry, and to inſure proſperity. And farther, the ryots ſhall not be reduced to a ſtate of uncertainty, as to the quantity and quality of the rents and ſervices to be exacted by their landlords.

II. THAT the current prices of grains, *which are the neceſſaries of life*, be unalterably

ably fixed; unlefs a deviation from this rule for the purpofe of immediate exportation, or upon any actual emergency, for a *limited* time, be allowed by fupreme authority.—That if neverthelefs, by any combination or affociation of land-holders and others, the rates of grain, or other neceffaries of life, be collufively enhanced, to the prejudice of manufacturers, labourers, and induftrious poor; government fhall in fuch cafe be warranted to exact additional rents in the fame proportion, during the continuance of the monopoly and fraudulent foreftalling.——This regulation will tend to encourage induftry and manufactures; and yield an increafe of revenue to government, by the increafed eftimation of the productions in future.

12. THAT large diftricts and zemindaries be parcelled into leffer divifions; due regard, for the fake of conveniency and the peace of neighbours, being paid to natural boundaries and original fub-farms; in

in ſuch moderate proportions, that many ſhall be under one lack, and few or none exceed two lacks in the eſtimation of quit-rent.——Many good reaſons may be adduced to juſtify the policy and expediency of reducing the larger diſtricts, and dividing the lands (in fee or copyhold tenure) among as large a number of the original chiefs, and their poſterity, as circumſtances will permit. Fidelity, temperance, and emulation, bear a nearer affinity, and are more intimately aſſociated with mediocrity, than with profuſe wealth. —Wealth begets ambition, ambition languiſhes for power, and power in Aſia, ſuggeſts ideas of treaſon.

13. THAT the average, or mean rent collected from poſſeſſions under actual cultivation and good titles, ſince 1773 to 1781, both included, be the groſs ſum to be eſtabliſhed as the government claim for quit-rents, on the ſame lands, in perpetuity; and that the diviſion thereof, by aſſeſſment on entire or ſubdivided diſtricts,

be apportioned with all the impartiality and equity which knowledge and experience can aſcertain.

14. THE numerous jaghires, talook, charity, and religious tenures, which occupy a vaſt extent of territory in the ſeveral provinces under the Company's dominion in Hindoſtan, having afforded ſubterfuges to groſs miſapplications, perverſions, uſurpations, and chicaneries, call for a ſtrict ſcrutiny; and the titles, as well as the quantities of lands, ſhould be aſcertained, in order that government may be enabled to reſume its conſtitutional rights, in all caſes where uſurpations and fraudulent abuſes have been committed. Claims, *under a future preſcriptive tenure*, in favour of poſſeſſors, where ambiguity or caſual circumſtances doth render them indiſtinct, ſhould be admitted in a liberal manner, and without too ſevere a ſcrutiny.

15. THE waſte and uncultivated lands ſhall be reſumed by government, as if never

ver under cultivation, and granted to individuals, under the ſame tenures as cultivated lands, but without exacting any quit-rent for a certain term; upon a moderate quit-rent for a ſecond term; and a perpetual quit-rent thereafter.—And great and flattering indulgences ſhall be held out, to encourage ſtrangers to become cultivators of the ſoil, and manufacturers in the new villages.

16. THAT country produce for immediate conſumption, and for the Company's warehouſes, be exempted from river and inland duties. That military bazars, (markets) and all country bazars and gunges, be alſo exempt from duties; except where they are exacted to raiſe a neceſſary fund to maintain the internal police and government of any particular diſtrict or town.

17. THAT a regiſter general's office, and provincial offices, be eſtabliſhed for recording grants, conveyances, deeds, leaſes,

wills, and other ſolemn titles and documents, having relation to real eſtates, inheritances, or ſucceſſions. That the provincial offices ſhall tranſmit original deeds to the general office in Calcutta, every month; and that a copy from either office, duly authenticated, ſhall have equal validity in evidence as the original. That the offices have regular dockets of fees, and other rules, eſtabliſhed by authority; and that complete indexes be daily upheld, for the ready inſpection of records.

18. THAT if the Hindoo laws concerning divers kinds of preſcriptions, ſhall not be deemed ſufficient to anſwer the ends of governmeent, blended with the rights and ſecurity of the people, others more competent and effectual ſhall be adopted.

19. THAT ſalutary reſervations and laws be eſtabliſhed, to guard againſt the dreadful calamities which follow ſevere droughts in thoſe warm regions; and that interceſſion be made with the Brahmins, for indulgencies

and diſpenſations, in times of famine, or *extreme* calamity, for *all* caſtes to ſubſiſt upon animal food, *for the preſervation of life.*

20. THAT weights and meaſures be reduced to fixed ſtandards by authority.—To ſuch as know the complicated variety of theſe uſed in India, the expediency of a regulation in favour of ryots and manufacturers, will not appear to need any proof.

21. THE Hindoo tax, called najay, was a fine aſſeſſed on the whole diſtrict, to anſwer the deficiencies of individuals. In ſome inſtances, ſuch a tax is irreconcileable to the maxims of juſtice; when it is exacted, for example, merely for the benefit and gratification of government, or the proprietor. But it will be a ſecurity againſt deſertion, the malice of wicked neighbours, negligence, and inactivity: for, by making the ryots anſwerable for each other, it will operate as a ſalutary check,

check, provided the rents are equally proportioned and levied on each farm in the diſtrict, according to extent and quality; and that the tax is not demanded when the deficiency ariſes unavoidably, by *the hand* of Providence, or by any oppreſſive or violent act of the proprietor: therefore, this tax ſhall, under proper limitations, be revived.

SECURITY to private property, and a free trade, are the greateſt encouragements that can be held out to induſtry and ingenuity, and cheriſh in the human breaſt a laudable degree of ambition, and a love of affluence: principles which render the ſtates that are inhabited by ſuch ſubjects as poſſeſs them, wealthy, independent, and powerful. The limitation of the powers annexed to the magiſtracy, in its ſeveral departments; the ſuppreſſion of every uſurpation of theſe powers by private authority; and facility of acceſs to juſtice; are the only means by which this invaluable ſecurity is to be obtained: and

when obtained, it ſhould be preſerved with the ſame ſacred and ſolemn guardian care, which is repreſented to have been of old exerciſed over the laws of MINOS.

I am, &c.

LETTER

LETTER XLVII.

To J—— M——, Efq; London.

Calcutta, Nov. 27, 1779.

AN independent fovereignty over certain territories in Hindoftan, being ceded by the emperor to the crown of Great Britain, the fole property of the falt-petre, ophium, and various forts of piece goods, commodities, and manufactures, which are peculiar to thofe provinces, might be made to operate as a monopoly, which fhould draw a great balance of trade, with all the eaftern coafts and iflands, as well as to facilitate the inveftments from China.—The produce of the Britifh provinces in India might be bartered, [redacted], in the fame manner that the Dutch carry on an advantageous trade, [redacted],

by means of the rich aromatic productions of *Ceylon* and the *Molucca* iſlands. The ſame articles, with other piece goods and proviſions, might ſupport a lucrative commerce with the ſouthern and weſtern coaſts of the peninſula of Hindoſtan, and alſo with the Perſian and Arabian ſeas.

THE French African iſlands of Mauritius and Bourbon being reduced under the power of Great Britain, the former ſhould be made a free port, under eaſy limitations and the exaction of a moderate duty. Foreign nations would then reſort to Mauritius, as to a market where they might purchaſe their ſupplies on terms conſiderrably lower than either the Dutch, Danes, or Portugueſe can furniſh them in Europe; and conſequently, theſe nations muſt, in their own defence, relinquiſh eſtabliſhments which involve them equally in loſs and diſcredit. Foreigners coming to this eaſtern emporium ſhould be obliged to pay at leaſt one-third of the price of the commodities they purchaſe, in ſilver

bullion, at a ſtandard and aſſay value, which the ſeller ſhould be obliged to tranſmit to India for the benefit of circulation.—The town and port of Port Lewis in Mauritius being made a free port, would be the great avenue through which India commodities would flow into the markets of Europe. Foreign European nations muſt of courſe be precluded from all communication with the native powers of the Indian continent. Hence it will become ſound policy, and indeed a meaſure indiſpenſably neceſſary, to give every poſſible encouragement to Indian manufacturers, particularly to eſtabliſh a conſtant and ready market for all ſorts of manufactures, even in the greateſt quantities *. But, in order to make ſuch merchandize

* This project can never interfere with the Company's ſale in Europe, becauſe the exported quantity muſt follow the Company's annual tonnage; and becauſe as the merchants exporting will expect an advance and intereſt on their outlays, and to be paid freight and inſurance, and the freights and charges from the Iſland to Europe muſt be at leaſt equal to what the Company pay, it will follow, that the Company, after clearing more than 20 per

merchandize ſaleable, with reciprocal advantage both to the buyer and ſeller, all the fraudulent and pernicious reſtraints and impoſitions, which of late years have occaſioned a debaſement in the qualities, and an advancement in the prices of goods, muſt be effectually aboliſhed. All goods muſt be reſtored to their original qualities and textures. Let no chicaning intermediate agent be ſuffered to paſs between the manufacturers and the Company's warehouſe-keepers and ſorters, except the ſworn appreciators and examiners, according to ſtandard ſamples, ſecreted from the view, and from every poſſible communication with the owners. Manufacturers ſhould receive punctual payment of all neceſſary advances and balances, without any diminution or defalcation, in adequate prices for their labour and ingenuity. Manufactures ſold to individuals ſhould be

per cent. duty in India, can underſell the goods thus imported into Europe from Mauritius; nor is it to be doubted, that the Europe, American, and African markets will continue equal to India exports.

ſubjected

ſubjected to an inland duty of at leaſt ten per cent. on their ſtandard eſtimations and exported under bonds to return certificates: but in caſes where the individual purchaſer ſhall, within ſix months, bring them into the Company's warehouſes, three-fourth parts of duty ſhall be returned to him. By theſe means, without operating as a monopoly, the goods will be lodged in the Company's warehouſes, where merchants or other perſons having orders or commiſſions, or deſirous of making remittances, may, in one day, complete an aſſortment of approved, unexceptionable merchandize, paying the prime coſt, with an advance of ten *per cent.* in lieu of warehouſe rent, charges, and riſque of tranſportation, and other petty incidental expences. Theſe goods being ſent to Mauritius, ſhould be received only under particular dockets and other clearances; and ſhould there be depoſited in the Company's warehouſes, paying *two and an half per cent.* in lieu of warehouſe rent, lighterage, cranage, and porterage, upon entry, and

and five per cent. more by the ſhipper, in lieu of export duty and charges, upon exportation.

THUS a handſome revenue would ariſe to the Company on this merchandize of about 20 *per cent.* while the exporter, by the mode of purchaſe, without any previous advance, or running the riſque of loſing part of the ſums uſually advanced to the manufacturers, or of being defrauded by the gomaſtahs, dellols *, and other agents, employed near twelve months before an aſſortment is completed, will lay in the goods ſubject to theſe duties, &c. at 20 to 30 *per cent.* cheaper than he could do now; with this further advantage, that the quality of the goods will enſure them a ſteady and profitable market, as well in Mauritius as in Europe.

I am, &c.

* A ſpecies of country agents.

LETTER

LETTER XLVIII.

To J—— M——, Efq; London.

Calcutta, Nov. 30, 1779.

IT is a fact of notoriety, that for every rupee which is accounted for in the receipt of the Company's general treafury, their uncontrolled collectors, and the multitude of deputies, and native harpies dependent on them, who ufe the authority and fanction of their names for the purpofes of extortion, receive at leaft five. If an effectual remedy could be provided for this evil, it would releafe commerce from its fetters, and improve the public revenue, as well as relieve the great body of the people from the moft deftructive rapacity.

To this end, the union of the two departments for collecting the Government's

and

and the Company's duties, as they are emphatically diſtinguiſhed, would be highly conducive. The cuſtom-houſes being united, the conſtitution of the ſingle office ariſing from that union, ſhould be at once ſimple and ſyſtematical: ſimple, in order to ſave expences, and prevent embezzlement and ſtudied delay of payment; ſyſtematical, that it may extend to every branch of revenue, that a due ſubordination may be maintained among the revenue officers, and that the income of the public may be ſecured by proper checks on its collectors, and particularly by the appointment of a comptroller.

A REFORM may be made general in every public department, and extend not only to ſalaries and to numbers, but to duty and the exerciſe of power. The ſubordinate councils under the controul of the ſeveral preſidencies, are merely iniquitous combinations, having in reality no other object in contemplation, but firſt to deviſe the moſt effectual means of defrauding their

their employers, and oppreſſing the natives, for the purpoſe of enriching themſelves in their turns; and then to deviſe ſuch ſpecious minutes and letters as are moſt likely to juſtify, or at leaſt to draw a decent veil over actions that cannot bear the light.

REVENUE chiefs, and collectors of diſtricts and provinces, are, if poſſible, ſtill greater nuiſances, and may as eaſily be diſpenſed with, by means of an eſtabliſhed general coin and valuable currency, a free internal trade, by granting lands on permanent tenures, and aſcertaining the *number and nature* of thoſe tenures.

THUS will all thoſe rich farms which are, by connivance and chicane, concealed from public knowledge, and which are appropriated to the uſe of individuals as emoluments of office, be diſcovered, and brought forth to public account.

CONTRACTORS are a ſpecies of robbers who have the ſanction and protection, becauſe they are generally the partners, of leading members in adminiſtration. The judicious and diſintereſted orders of the court of Directors, with regard to the matters I have touched on in this letter; and indeed with regard to all others, are either ſecretly evaded, or, where that is impoſſible, treated with open contempt. They are conſidered as the impertinent intruſions of men aſſuming powers that do not belong to them, and arrogating a knowledge in matters, the conduct of which, cuſtom and poſſeſſion have placed in more powerful hands. The ſervants of the Company conceive themſelves to be poſſeſſed, if not of the moſt *juſt and legal*, yet of a very *natural* authority; an *abſolute* authority, which they well know how to uſe as an engine, not only for procuring the remiſſion of offences, but even rank and applauſe. Thus they become proper objects of emulation

to

to others, who treading in the ſame fraudulent paths, are ſolicitous to procure powerful friends, who may connive at and protect their own frauds, and quicken the rapid acquiſition of fortunes by ſeniors, that they may the ſooner be placed in ſituations for acquiring fortunes themſelves.

THESE evils are mightily encreaſed by that great number of young gentlemen which are ſent out every year in the character of writers: one third part of which would be more than ſufficient to execute all the buſineſs exacted of the whole; and if theſe young gentlemen were reſtrained from entering on this line of life, before their educations were completed *, and that they had acquired diſtinct ideas of buſineſs, and ſome knowledge of the world; were they confirmed in principles

* In order to ſecure rank and ſeniority, writers of the age of ſixteen years are admiſſible; but they generally advance a year upon their ages, and come out between fifteen and ſixteen.

of

of juſtice, integrity, and honour; and were their judgments matured by time and experience; the Company and the country would equally be benefited by their abilities and virtue; while they themſelves would riſe faſter in the ſervice than they do now, and make quicker progreſs in that *great work* of accumulating independencies with unblemiſhed characters and ſerene conſciences.—If this idea ſhould be adopted, the appointments of the Company's writers ſhould be made ſo abundantly competent to their ſtations and proſpects, as to place them above the commiſſion of mean and diſhonourable actions, or of becoming the dupes of underhand agents, and of uſurious Banyans and Circars. It is evident, that the Company's expences would continue the ſame, were the preſent entire allowance diſtributed among a ſmaller number, while their buſineſs would be performed with greater promptitude, and with more accuracy and judgment.

THIS new regulation would, in all probability, ſoon introduce another, of great importance to the Company in various reſpects; namely, the keeping of all their records, accounts, and books, in the Engliſh language *, inſtead of that of the country, as has long been, and ſtill is the practice even in private families. Any accounts that are kept in Engliſh, are merely partial abſtracts, and tranſlations from the country languages. Thus the Company, as well as individuals, are at the mercy of native ſervants, from whom alone their employers receive informations of the ſtate of their finances, inveſtments, effects, and property of every kind, from time to time: a power which the cool and

* It is aſtoniſhing, that notwithſtanding the length of time which the Engliſh have traded to Bengal, and that for the laſt ſixteen years they have acted as independent ſovereigns thereof, there is not a ſervant in an Engliſh houſe who underſtands the Engliſh language; and ſuch is the police of that country, that every Britiſh ſubject is indirectly a dependent on his Banyan and Circar, and a ſlave even to the loweſt of his own ſervants. It is otherwiſe at Madras and Bombay.

 deep-

deep-deſigning Hindoos will endeavour by all means to preſerve.

I MAY, perhaps, be thought to bear hard, in ſome of the obſervations I have made now, as well as on former occaſions, on the ſervants of the Company. In truth, the conduct of many, nay of the moſt of them, affords not any ſubject for panegyric. Nevertheleſs, we ought, in candour, to make great allowances to the ſtrong temptations that ſolicit them to graſp at fortune at the expence of integrity. The ſame circumſtances which, in ſome degree, excuſe the weakneſſes and vices of the Company's ſervants, enhance the merit of thoſe who preſerve their virtue untainted amidſt general corruption. True glory conſiſts in perſevering in the paths of virtue, in ſpite of all the allurements of vice. There are, doubtleſs, among the Company's ſervants, ſeveral who are well entitled to this praiſe. Such among them I know, and I have had great ſatisfaction in their acquaintance. Concerning thoſe

in the adminiſtration of government, I ſhall be wholly ſilent. *They* have had but too much occaſion to diſplay their talents, and their principles, either in ſupporting or oppoſing the meaſures on the Company's records. There are, however, among the Company's ſervants, men whoſe junior ſtations have not yielded opportunities of exhibiting the excellence of their characters in ſo conſpicuous a manner; and I mention their names in particular, without meaning to inſinuate an idea to the prejudice of any others. I have often found it convenient to acquire a knowledge of characters; and therefore, my friend, I have choſen to point out a few, who will claim your regard, if ever chance ſhould bring you into their ſociety. The favourable impreſſions which they have made on my mind, are the reſult ſolely of their own capacities and integrity.

MR. BRODIE of Madras, although a young ſervant, and young in years, by a

natural and eafy addrefs, found judgment, manly firmnefs, polite candour, unwearied diligence, probity, and a liberality of fentiment, feems to have gained the univerfal confidence and efteem of perfons of all ranks, denominations, and countries within that fettlement. Thefe talents and virtues, joined to a fteady boldnefs, have often prefented him to my mind as a perfon well qualified, with the affiftance of *Mooda Kiftna* as interpreter, to undertake a pacific embaffy to Hyder Ally.

I ESTEEM it a peculiar happinefs, that I have had an opportunity of knowing, with eafy freedom, the honourable principles which adorn and actuate the natural and acquired abilities of Mr. George Bogle, Mr. John Shore, Mr. G. Ducarell, Mr. Claud Alexander, and Mr. David Anderfon, of Calcutta. To thefe may juftly be fubjoined the names of Mr. Herbert Harris, Mr. Samuel Touchett, and Mr. John Mackenzie.

THE

THE embaſſy of Mr. Bogle to the Lama of Thibet, and his letter of reſignation, when he found himſelf unable to accompliſh the purpoſes of his appointment of commiſſioner of the Company's law-ſuits in the Supreme Court, by reaſon of the extra-judicial proceedings of the judges, do honour to his moral character; as his clear and preciſe knowledge of the revenues, laws, and cuſtoms of the Company's poſſeſſions in Bengal, prove him to be one of their ableſt ſervants. But his connection with Mr. H——s, has impreſſed his mind with an idea, that pure deſpotiſm in the uncontrolled hands of an individual, is the only ſyſtem whereby to govern India.

MR. SHORE, Mr. Ducarell, and Mr. Anderſon, have acquired ſo accurate a knowledge of the revenues of the provinces of Hindoſtan, and the diſpoſitions, cuſtoms, and manners of the people, that, whatever change may take place in the adminiſtration, ſound policy and good ſenſe will point out them as neceſſary members.

Mr. Alexander, whofe unbiaffed integrity, and accurate knowledge of accounts, have juftly raifed him to the important ftation which he now occupies, of commiffary general of the army accounts, is worthy of unlimited confidence, and capable of rendering fignal fervices, particularly in any line that requires controul, and a clear knowledge of accounts. It would be injuftice to the moft approved fidelity, to pafs over the diftinguifhed abilities and unfhaken integrity of Mr. Charles Grant, principal fecretary to the Board of Trade. If this gentleman errs in any thing, it is in the fternnefs of his virtue, and the nice fcrupuloufnefs of his feelings in matters of right and wrong. The only good that has been performed by that Board, has been involuntary on the part of its members, and ftands to the fole credit of the fecretary.

I am, &c.

LETTER

LETTER XLIX.

To J—— M——, Efq; London.

Calcutta, Dec. 5, 1779.

THE Eaft India Company entertained falfe ideas concerning the trade carried on from their fettlements in the eaft with the Arabian and Perfian feas, when they either mifled government, or feduced the minifter at the Ottoman court to obftruct the commerce with the Red Sea, and as much as poffible, that from Bafforah and Bagdat to Aleppo and Smyrna. Doubtlefs, they imagined that fuch commerce would interfere with their fales in Europe, and with the trade of the Levant Company: but never was any apprehenfion more groundlefs. Let the Company's fales in Leadenhall-ftreet and the Cuftomhoufe entries in London be reviewed, in

order to aſcertain the quantities and qualities of India goods exported to the Levant and the African ſide of the Mediterranean; and then compare theſe with the quantities and qualities of the goods ſent from India into the gulphs. This compariſon will ſufficiently evince the Company's miſtake with regard to this ſubject, and no doubt effectually correct it. France and Denmark, who nearly engroſs that part of the African trade which lies within the ſtraits of Gibraltar, are capable—the one by proximity, the other by conſtant intercourſe, and both by the unreſtrained ſyſtems of their imports—of underſelling the Levant Company in all India commodities. Therefore, unleſs the Levant Company have actually occaſion to monopolize all the bills of exchange negociated in Marſeilles, Villa Franca, Genoa, Leghorn, Venice, and the other ſouthern ſtates, upon the northern kingdoms and trading cities of Europe (an idea repugnant to the very inſtitution of that ſociety) it is not probable that the portion of trade which

which is carried on from India directly with Mocha, Judda, Suez, and Bafforah, can fenfibly affect either the meafure or the profits of the traffic of that Company. The articles of remittance to Britain, for goods exported from India into the Perfian and Arabian feas, are bills of exchange, Venetian gold, and Spanifh and German crowns: nor is it alledged, that *returns* to India are in any refpect offenfive. It therefore becomes a political queftion, whether it will prove advantageous to Britain, that the Levant Company fhall enjoy new and exclufive privileges, which, without being of the fmalleft advantage to the Britifh nation in any refpect, embarrafs the Indian trade, and one branch of which it tends directly to foreclofe?

INDIA has been, till of late, in the uniform practice of fending its productions into the Arabian and Perfian feas, to the value of about 350,000 l. annually; the principal returns for which, were gold, filver, and other articles of merchandize, which

which interfered not in any material inſtance with the trade of the Company, or with Britiſh manufactures. The other returns became remittances of the acquiſitions of individuals to Britain, and conſequently a real benefit to the nation. The importation of precious metals into India, is evidently eſſential to its proſperity. Such articles as are wanted for conſumption, or are indiſpenſable in the improvement of manufactures, and which muſt otherwiſe have been bought from foreigners, and paid for with a liquidation of ſpecie, will operate in the ſame manner with reſpect to the country, as if the intire returns, except what is ſent to Britain, were made in the precious metals only.

Over and above the advantages accruing from navigation to all commercial countries, and profits upon the returns, the ſales up the gulphs may reaſonably be computed to yield twenty to twenty-five per cent. net profit, if the India goods are judiciouſly laid in. Thus an annual market

market will be furnifhed for about half a million of pounds fterling, and a real balance of trade in favour of the Englifh Company, from places, all commerce with which has rafhly been difcountenanced and reftrained by public authority.—It is an object of importance to the Eaft India Company, and worthy of the fupport of government, to revive and re-eftablifh thofe branches of commerce upon a new and comprehenfive fyftem. Such a fyftem has, after much enquiry and reflection, been already framed in idea; and it is affirmed with confidence, that it might eafily be reduced to practice, that it would promote the intereft of the Company, enrich individuals, and, on the whole, add to the profperity of the Britifh poffeffions in India.

As the commerce to and from India with all parts eaftward of the Cape of Good Hope, is as free to individuals as to the Company; it has been wholly carried on, for a confiderable time paft, by the

Company's

Company's ſervants, individually, or on their account; and by others who ſtile themſelves *free merchants* and *free mariners*. The fluctuations and inſecurity peculiar to any commerce which is reſtrained by the arbitrary will of an excluſive Company and deſpotic government, are too obvious not to damp the ardour of even the hardieſt ſpeculators in commerce: nevertheleſs, free merchants, labouring under manifold inconveniences, adventured in this hazardous trade; and would have ſucceeded in ſpite of all obſtructions, but thoſe which were thrown in their way by the partiality and injuſtice of that very country which was ultimately to reap the benefit of their genius and induſtry.

Every poſſible encouragement conſiſtent with ſound policy, ſhould be freely granted to Britiſh ſubjects trading to the eaſt of the Cape of Good Hope. Free traders ſhould, however, be put under particular reſtrictions and limitations, as well in certain branches of internal privileges

leges and trade, as in the mode of purchasing country manufactures. This measure is absolutely necessary, in order to prevent those abuses which have been so justly and so loudly complained of; the debasement of the qualities, and at the same time the encrease of the prices, of commodities. This restraint ought not to be murmured at, when it is considered that free traders are exempted from general taxes, and that the charges of the civil and military government, the benefits of which they enjoy, is borne without their participation. Their navigation especially, should be laid under strict regulations. They should never be allowed to trade beyond the limits of the Company's dominions without passports.

I am, &c.

LETTER

LETTER L.

To J—— M——, Esq. London.

Calcutta, Dec. 6, 1779.

IT is equally unjust and impolitic, that foreigners should enjoy greater privileges and immunities than the natural subjects of any country; yet *Frenchmen* are allowed to trade with the most unbounded freedom, and to amass large fortunes in the English Company's dominions in India, even while their nation is at war with Britain, and while they sacrifice the temporary allegiance they owe to a government which favours them with so singular an indulgence, to the hostile views of their native country. Swiss, Germans, Portuguese, Armenians, and others, are exclusively indulged with such peculiar advantages in trade, that they quickly ac-

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quire fortunes, with which they retire to their own countries: whereas Engliſhmen, were they equally favoured, would in like manner ſpeedily acquire wealth, and carry it home to enrich Great Britain.

It is evidently beneficial to any country, that ſojourners as well as its ſettled inhabitants do live in a plentiful and generous manner; for thus encouragement is afforded, by a free circulation of money, to the induſtry of the manufacturer, the labourer, and the huſbandman. Now the natives of Britain are diſtinguiſhed for a liberality, and even a profuſion in their manner of living, both at home and abroad: whereas foreigners are in general as remarkable for their parſimony and mean penurioufneſs; ſo that the people among whom they acquire their fortunes, reap but little benefit from ſupplying *their* few wants, and at laſt, have the mortification of ſeeing ſtrangers carrying away great ſums of hoarded money to be ſpent in their own countries.

THE treachery and ingratitude of foreigners enjoying extraordinary indulgences under the conſtitution of the Engliſh Eaſt India Company, are ſo well known, and have of late been ſo ſtrikingly exemplified in the conduct of Mr. Bolts, Mr. Chevalier, Mr. Somro, Mr. Pollier, Mr. Moneron, &c. that it ought not to be a matter of ſurprize, that the moſt ſecret proceedings in Calcutta and Madras, previous to the late capture of Chandernagore, and the ſiege of Pondicherry, were known to the two French governors as quickly as the ſpeed of Harcarahs could convey the information. This dangerous evil is encouraged by the wilful violation of one of the ſtanding orders of the Company, prohibiting the Company's ſervants in India from marrying women of foreign birth or the Romiſh faith. Two of the Council of Madras are married to French ladies, near relations of governor Law, and rigid Catholics. A late ſuſpended member of the ſame board is married to another lady of

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that family; and ſeveral other gentlemen in the ſervice of that preſidency, have entered into ſimilar connections: the governor general, Mr. Haſtings, has ſet an example of the ſame kind in Bengal; and in order to render the practice general, he contrived to draw two of his family into foreign connections. With great confidence may it be aſſerted, that all the miſchiefs which have attended Mr. H——s's adminiſtration in Bengal, are to be aſcribed to female connection; that the notice given to Mr. Chevalier, the evening preceding the capture of Chandernagore *; the very dan-

* It has been induſtriouſly propagated, that M. Chevalier was in his houſe at Ghyrotty when Colonel Dow entered it, but that he got away by the management of Madame Chevalier.—Nothing is more falſe.—Two confidential ſervants of the Company, and particular favourites of Mr. H——s, were with him upon *ſecret* buſineſs, until two o'clock that morning; and when Colonel Dow ſurrounded Ghyrotty houſe, M. Chevalier was concealed in the houſe of a truſty ſervant in the town of Chandernagore, three miles diſtant, together with ſuch papers as would, probably, if ſeized by Colonel Dow, *have brought fatal conſpiracies to light.*

gerous leave given to the ſame Governor Chevalier, after having been taken priſoner in Catack, to embark for France by the ſhorteſt route through the Red Sea *; and a variety of other miſdemeanors, originated in, and were carried through by the ſame influence. The open conduct of the Portugueſe houſe of De C——o, D——s, and P——n, as the agents of Mr. Bolts, in ſupplying his Niccabar and other ſettlements, in defiance of the Company's poſitive orders, as well as the ſhare which they have had in embarraſſing the Nabob

* Mr. Elliot, though deſervedly a favourite with Mr. H—s, and with all who knew his abilities and amiable qualities, was too honourable to have the ſecret of M. Chevalier's mode of eſcape divulged to him, elſe he would not have ſo boldly hazarded his own ſafety, and at laſt ſacrificed his life, to the ſeizing of M. Chevalier's perſon.— He ſent him to Calcutta, as an acquiſition of the firſt magnitude to the peace and ſecurity of the Engliſh Company's poſſeſſions in India. But the ſame motives which wrought his eſcape from Ghyrotty, and the affected feelings of one lady for another, procured him a ſpeedy and ſafe conduct to France, through the Red Sea, in a French veſſel under Daniſh colours, loaded for his own and Monſieur Moneron's account, with money and merchandize.

of

of the Carnatic, are further inſtances of the bad policy of extending greater privileges to ſtrangers than to Britiſh ſubjects. The proſtituted name of Mr. De S—a, which has been ſo often uſed for the purpoſe of defrauding the government of Britain, in matters relating to the king's ſquadrons in India; the plan concerted between M. Bellecombe, Monſieur Moracin, and Monſieur de Larche, in caſe of the reduction of Pondicherry, for conveying political intelligence of meaſures in India; the conveniency which the houſe of M. Guinett, a French ſurgeon, ſettled in Madras, afforded in communicating the tranſactions in Fort St. George to Pondicherry; the countenance and inconſiderate indulgence granted to Monſieur Salabert, a French officer, for whom M. de la Brilliane, of Mauritius, procured introductions from lady F——r to her friends in Madras, and ſent him, under the ſanction of theſe letters, actually as a ſpy, in conſequence of which, and the eaſy acceſs he had to the families of thoſe mem-

bers of council who were married to French ladies, he had the liberty of viſiting all the fortifications, and procured introductions, for the like purpoſes, to Ajengo, Tellicherry, and Bombay *.—Theſe are among the many happy effects of that partial indulgence which is ſhewn in Britiſh Hindoſtan to foreigners.—Salabert returned to Mahé, and joined M. St. Lubin and Hyder Ally. Hence he accompanied Captain Rozell, in diſguiſe, to Negapatnam and Tranquebar, and at length (at the very time it was beſieged) into Pondicherry, whence he embarked in the Pourvoyeuſe to Mauritius.

The hiſtory and conduct of Monſieur Moneron is very applicable to the preſent ſubject. This gentleman's name has already been mentioned as the aſſociate of M. Chevalier into the Red Sea. He found leſs difficulty in procuring a paſſage,

* Where his deſigns were ſuſpected by the ſhrewd diſcernment of the blunt Mr. Hornby, who ordered him to withdraw on a very ſhort notice.

through

through the intereſt of a refugee houſe of trade in London, than a loyal Britiſh ſubject would in one of the Company's ſhips. The ſame houſe furniſhed him with money, merchandize, and credit, for which, it is probable, they are now ſmarting. Being a man of addreſs and abilities, he ſoon became a favourite and confidant of Monſieur Chevalier; and the ſame properties, together with a knowledge of the Engliſh language, *and other uſeful qualifications*, rendered him a welcome and confidential emiſſary in Calcutta. His brother was employed as a neceſſary meſſenger, under the denomination of a ſupercargo, to Pondicherry and Mauritius, in the ſhip le Duc de Vrilliere. He was indulged, in compliment to M. Chevalier, to accompany him on his parole through the Red Sea to France, and thence to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war in England. He nominally chartered a large ſnow, under Daniſh paſſports and colours, though, in truth, ſhe was his own property;

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he loaded her with proper goods for the Suez, Judda, and Mocha markets, and with money; and they embarked, provided with the moſt ample paſſports, and letters of ſafe conduct from the governor general *. It is more than probable that he touched at Mangalore, or Choul, on the Malabar coaſt, in order to confer with Hyder Ally and the Marrattas, as well as with Monſieur St. Lubin; which may account for the veſſel's not getting higher up than Judda, in the Red Sea, before the monſoon ſet in from the northward. Here the friends parted; M. Chevalier to purſue his Indian ſchemes in Verſailles; and M. Moneron to return to India, more for the purpoſe of making new diſcoveries, and of communicating them, than for that of eſtabliſhing his family, or diſpoſing of his merchandize. Indeed, he had liquidated moſt of his In-

* This meaſure was ſtrongly oppoſed by Mr. Francis and Mr. Wheler in council.

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dian concerns before his departure from that country.

He loaded his ſnow back, traded at Ceylon and Negapatnam, and, with an effrontery peculiar to his countrymen, boldly entered the Houghley, and landed his cargo, which he ſold *openly* to an Engliſh merchant in Calcutta. That he might not hazard his neck in caſe of a diſcovery, after taking the oaths of allegiance, &c. he continued to paſs and repaſs freely, throughout the Engliſh, Dutch, and Daniſh ſettlements in Bengal, without demanding any protection, or qualifying as a priſoner of war. In the mean time, he learnt the hoſtile diſpoſition of all the native ſtates in Hindoſtan to the Engliſh; the very reduced ſtate of the Engliſh Company's finances; and on the whole, that the preſent was a proper period for France to execute her purpoſe of joining the force which lay in Mauritius to thoſe of Hyder Alley and the Marrattas. in order to regain a greater power

and influence in India, than had ever been conceived by the moſt ſanguine hopes of Monſieur Dupleix. An Engliſh ſtranger, unconnected with the Company, had an opportunity of learning, that a ſhip bought in the name of a Portugueſe merchant in Calcutta, then loading with rice and proviſions for Tranquebar on the coaſt of Coromandel, in which M. Moneron and his family were to embark as paſſengers, was really the property of M. Moneron, as well as her cargo, and was actually deſtined in a direct courſe to Mauritius, and took ſeveral opportunities, in private converſation, of mentioning it, firſt to Mr. Haſtings's friends, and then to ſome other members of the ſupreme board. After the ſhip had fallen down *below Calcutta*, in the river, M. Moneron was confined to his houſe at Chandernagore; but although the ſhip Swallow, mounting ſixteen guns, and navigated with one hundred men, lay at Cadgerry ready to ſlip at a moment's warning to ſeize the ſhip, ſhe was ſuffered quietly to paſs, and to proceed

proceed to Mauritius: for upon enquiry, it was found, that ſhe had not touched at Tranquebar, or any other part of that coaſt.

It ſhould be an invariable maxim with ſtates at war, to treat priſoners, not only with humanity, hoſpitality, and liberality, but with every poſſible indulgence, conſiſtent with prudence and policy. In India, this law of humanity, thus guarded and qualified, has, however, been tranſgreſſed. The Company's ſervants have departed from the national characteriſtic of Engliſhmen, by the exerciſe of parſimony and unneceſſary incivility on ſome occaſions, while in others they have ſhewn the moſt imprudent indulgences to the enemies of their country. The *very polite* mode of accommodating Governor Chevalier, and ſending him home by the ſhorteſt and ſafeſt route, to concert the recovery of India in Verſailles, while Madame Chevalier was contented to undergo the perils and fa-

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tigues of a long voyage, in a Danish ship, by the Cape of Good Hope *, and the last-

* M. Chevalier acquired wealth, and what is of more importance, a knowledge of the politics, customs, dispositions, and languages of Hindostan, acting as a remote country agent, with extraordinary indulgences, for English gentlemen, members of council in Calcutta. He had not been in the service of the French Company, or the crown, from the conquest of Chandernagore by Adm. Watson and Lord Clive; but Governor Law discovered his abilities and knowledge, and with a true spirit of patriotism, discovered also the advantages which France might derive from them; and M. Chevalier profiting of his own wealth, seasonably applied a portion thereof to second the recommendation of Governor Law; in consequence of which, he was quickly taken into the service of the crown, and raised as quickly to the second station in India. An enterprizing genius, an ambitious mind, and an ardent desire to fulfil the hopes he had raised, conspired to excite his activity, and to support his perseverance. The capture of Chandernagore, *by surprize*, and a similar attempt upon the house of Ghyrotty, did not deprive him of the means of preserving the copious materials he had collected. He was faithfully assisted in the mode of securing them and himself; and a man, proverbially distinguished for the want of personal address, and the uniform aukwardness of his person, attitudes, and conversation in public, to the astonishment of India, acquired upon this singular occasion, as if by instinct, the *tone and polite civility*

laſt-mentioned indulgence to Monſieur Moneron; the penſions *doubled oſtentatiouſly* to French penſioners in Chandernagore; in return for which, in leſs than ſix months, the penſioners doubled the rents of their houſes to ſuch Britiſh ſubjects as were deſirous of benefiting by the ſalubrity of an air and ſituation, ſo ſuperior to Calcutta; the unlimited freedom given to Frenchmen, of ingreſs and egreſs to all parts indiſcriminately, and conſequently of communicating, with dangerous circumſtances, the ſtate of general and particular affairs in India, through the Daniſh, Dutch, and Portugueſe, to the Marrattas, Hyder Alley, Mauritius, and France; the unhandſome, and indeed unneceſſary incivility ſhewn to General Belle-

civility of a Frenchman. Mr. Haſtings condeſcended to extend and rack his invention, in order to accommodate M. Chevalier, and to forward his and the views of France, againſt the able and wiſe remonſtrances and proteſts of his colleagues in council, and unfortunately, as chief, he poſſeſſed influence, and two votes.

combe at Madras, when in the ſtate of a priſoner of war; the ſtoppage of the ſubſiſtence ſtipulated by capitulation to ſome of the civil and penſioned officers in Pondicherry who could not even be accommodated ſingly, far leſs with their wives, children, mothers, and ſiſters, on board the Luconia ſnow, and who, upon that account, would not leave them behind in miſery, but, following the feelings and dictates of nature, declined that occaſion of going to Mauritius:—theſe and other circumſtances, ſufficiently prove the deficiency of their hoſpitality in ſome inſtances, and its exceſs in others. But the military manœuvre of Sir Eyre Coote, and the acquieſcence of the council of Madras, in enliſting priſoners of war, then under articles of capitulation, who were natural-born ſubjects of France, into the Company's ſervice, was a meaſure which condemns the military knowledge of the one, and the political knowledge of the other.

M. BEL-

M. BELLECOMBE, intending to procure favourable conditions, lengthened his requiſitions to about forty-ſeven articles, which, with equal efficacy, might have been comprized in a fourth part of that number. Among other ſuperfluous articles, he ſtipulated, that the priſoners of war ſhould not be tampered with, or inveigled to enliſt in the Engliſh Company's ſervice. Doubtleſs, this precaution could only have had alluſion to Germans, Swiſs, Brabanters, and others, *not natural-born ſubjects of France:* it never could have been underſtood to extend to *capitulant* ~~*ſubjects*~~ prisoners, *natives of France*. The former were certainly free to enliſt, becauſe the act of ſurrender abſolved them from the temporary allegiance they owed to France. The latter could not enliſt in a Britiſh army, being bound by a natural and indefeaſible allegiance to the king of France. But in the conduct of General Bellecombe on this occaſion, we have a ſtriking proof that an unneceſſary multiplication of laws defeats its own object. It was thought neceſſary by

by M. Bellecombe, to reſtrain the Britiſh from *inveigling* the priſoners to enliſt in their ſervice, by an expreſs ſtipulation. The Britiſh general did not break through this engagement, when he enliſted ſuch of the priſoners as had *not been tampered with and inveigled*; but who offered themſelves as recruits of their own accord. But ſtill, by enliſting French priſoners, he violated the laws of nations; and at the ſame time committed an act of deadly inhumanity, in placing thoſe ignorant, deluded people in the ſituation of deſerters and traitors, by which they forfeit their lives, or are ſubjected to perpetual baniſhment from their country, friends, and families.

THE preference granted to the traitors, after their arrival at Calcutta, over regular European troops, as a bribe to ſecure their attachment, implied a ſtrong diſtruſt of their fidelity to their new maſters and commanders. For that diſtruſt, I confeſs, I think there was great

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room. I venture to predict, that the precedence given to the traitors will not be sufficient to restrain them from committing, on any favourable occasion, a second act of treachery. Perhaps their enlisting in our service, was a political manœuvre of France: nor was it bad policy to procure such an accession of strength and intelligence in the heart of Hindostan. I suspect you will think this conjecture rather fanciful. I allow, that political refinement is frequently a source of error. But the political schemes of France being laid deep, it is necessary, if we speculate concerning them at all, to speculate profoundly. However chimerical the suspicions I have just now hinted may appear to some; to those well acquainted with the French nation, they will seem very natural. Even French officers would willingly enlist in our army as privates, and serve in that character for years, if by that zeal, they could hope to recommend themselves, by the communication of important

portant intelligence, or otherwiſe, to the attention of the *grand monarque*, or to the favour of any of his miniſters.

I am, &c.

LETTER

LETTER LI.

To J—— M——, Efq; London.

Calcutta, Dec. 9, 1779.

THE Carnatic, merely by acts of oppreffion, has decreafed in population in a greater proportion than its revenues have diminifhed. The grofs revenues of the Nabob, comprehending the Marrawah conqueft, and all other tributary claims appertaining to the nabobfhip, which even in his time were not much fhort of forty-eight to fifty lacks of pagodas, or about 2,000,000l. fterling, are at this time computed *communibus annis*, to run only from thirty to thirty-two lacks; or about 1,200,000l. Some pretend to compute them under twenty lacks of pagodas. Thefe are melancholy reflections, the diftrefs of which is height-

ened by a clear knowledge that the depopulation of the Carnatic, and the poverty of the prince, have enriched the dominions of an inveterate enemy *, and recruited his army with troops, regularly trained to the ufe of arms under Britifh officers in the Nabob's fervice.

The Rajafhip of Tanjore, which is incomparably the richeft fpot between the Kiftna and Cape Comorin, and may, in other refpects, be called the key, as well as the fupport of all that extenfive tract of country, yielded, before the late unjuft revolution and violation of public faith, an annual revenue of from feventeen to twenty lacks of pagodas; but it has been with difficulty, that ten to twelve lacks have been collected fince the furrender thereof to the Rajah.

By reftoring thefe rich countries to their original fplendour, and efpecially by

* Hyder Ally Cawn.

bringing them to that happy degree of perfection, which nature in its bounty hath rendered them capable of attaining, what a vaſt addition will not be made to the trade and ſecurity, as well as to the reputation of the Britiſh nation?

THERE is ſcarcely a character in India ſo uncandidly exhibited by partiſans and adverſaries, or a perſon whoſe conduct has been ſo unfairly ſtated, as that of the Nabob of the Carnatic. That prince owes his greatneſs, and the very exiſtence of his family, to the Britiſh nation. Of this he has ever ſhewed himſelf ſenſible; and has given the moſt ample proofs of his gratitude, not only to the Engliſh Eaſt India Company, but to individuals of the Engliſh nation.

ON the other hand, it is not leſs true, that the Engliſh Company owe their grandeur and ſucceſs in a great meaſure to the uniform attachment, fidelity, and

friendſhip of the Nabob; to his treaſures, to the pledged credit of his dominions in the days of their inſignificancy and diſtreſs, and to his judicious counſels and influence, when their own local and political knowledge of India was obſcure and ſuperficial. — The Company have conſtantly done juſtice to the merit of the Nabob, by the letter and ſpirit of every paper iſſuing from Leadenhall-ſtreet, wherein they were not miſled by partial miſrepreſentations. But, removed far from the field of action, and miſguided by the intereſted, but ſpecious repreſentations of their principal ſervants abroad, the Directors condeſcended to become acceſſaries in ſcenes of iniquity and guilt, at which their minds would have revolted.

At ſome times deceived, defrauded, diſhonoured, and inſulted; and at others amuſed, flattered, indulged, and exalted; it is not a matter of wonder if the Nabob became ſuſpicious, timid, wavering, and cunning.

cunning.—The moral characters of men are not ſo much impreſſed on them by the original hand of nature, as they are formed by circumſtances and ſituations.—The Nabob of the Carnatic was naturally affable, humane, juſt, generous, and ſteady. But this excellent diſpoſition has been changed by neceſſity, and a regard to ſelf-preſervation. It is only aſtoniſhing, that at an age nearer to ſeventy than ſixty-five years, he ſhould continue to poſſeſs ſuch undaunted virtue as enables him to avert thoſe dangers which are hourly hovering over his head, and at the ſame time preſerve all the elegance of princely manners and addreſs, with a countenance the moſt manly and graceful that the fancy of a painter can conceive.

THIS prince, in the vain hope of gratifying the inſatiable and importunate avarice of the ſervants of the Engliſh Eaſt India Company, oppreſſed his people to ſuch a degree, that his country became nearly

depopulated. In ſuch circumſtances, a regard to his own ſafety co-operating with an ambition natural to Mooriſh princes, he readily yielded to the gilded bait which the rapacity of Britiſh ſubjects held up to his view, when they perſuaded him to ſeize upon the country of Tanjore; on pretences as foreign to juſtice, as they were diſhonourable to the Engliſh Company, who were guarantees of the treaty of 1762, and the friends and allies of both. Hence the Nabob's misfortunes—hence he was involved in a debt of near fifty lacks of pagodas *, although he never received a juſt or valuable conſideration for twenty. This enormous debt has accumulated, notwithſtanding that by the unnatural plunder of Tanjore, as is ſuppoſed, he had enriched his treaſures to the value of near as much more. Thus embarraſſed, continually beſet with duns and harpies, and threatened with the ſcourge of borrowed power; his

* 2,000,000 l.

taſk-

taſk-maſters and plunderers continually changing, and continually extorting the unconſcientious price of their aſſumed protection and ſupport; a ſtate priſoner within his own palace, and reſtrained from receiving the compliments and viſits of perſons not intimately connected with the temporary protector, unleſs by ſtealth; why ſhould it appear ſurpriſing that he, as well as his oppreſſors, ſhould act the politician, and uſe againſt them their own deceitful weapons?—Such is his ſituation, that if he had it in his power, he dares not to pay his juſt debts; becauſe he dares not to ſeparate the *real* from the *imaginary* claims upon him; and he is totally incapable of paying the whole.

THESE very impolitic meaſures on the part of the Company's ſervants, have alſo wrought upon his mind to be unjuſt to his own family: an effect which in its conſequences may prove highly prejudicial to the Company's intereſt. He has two ſons arrived at years of maturity. The

eldeſt is of a mild diſpoſition, ſenſible, a lover of juſtice, ſtudious, and as candid and ſincere as we can expect him to be, if we conſider his parentage and oriental education *; but too great an attachment to his haram, has rendered him indolent, and unacquainted with buſineſs. The ſecond is by nature artful, deceitful, inſinuating, and treacherous; but able, active, and perſevering in buſineſs and intrigue. The Nabob, whether through the artful inſinuations of the younger, or a diſtruſt of the paſſiveneſs of the elder, or from whatever other private cauſe, has apparently withdrawn his countenance and protection from the eldeſt ſon, and is wholly guided by the younger, whom he has made Generaliſſimo of his army, and to whom he wiſhes and intends to leave the ſucceſſion of the Carnatic. This influence of the ſecond ſon, has ſeduced the Nabob's heart

* There is a wide difference between the manners of the Moors and thoſe of the Hindoos: the Moors are both ſubtle and ambitious; the Hindoos candid, unaſpiring, and contented with their ſituations in life.

from

from the Engliſh Company: he is, however, diveſted of the power of either good or evil; unleſs by ſecretly intriguing at the court of Poonah and its vicinity, and by corrupting the morals and fidelity of the Company's ſervants.

IN the preſent ſtate of India, and of the Nabob's age, the intereſt of the Company requires an immediate ſettlement of the ſucceſſion to the nabobſhip: becauſe, if ſuch a ſettlement be not made before the old prince dies, the ſucceſſion will become a ſubject of contention between the eſtabliſhed claim of the eldeſt and the hoarded treaſure of the younger ſon; and the ſucceſſor, whichſoever of the two he be, muſt give or promiſe crores of rupees to conciliate the countenance and protection of the Company's ſervants. Four things are therefore neceſſary to be done, without loſs of time, by the Eaſt India Company.

FIRST,

FIRST, to appoint commiſſioners to liquidate all *Britiſh* claims upon the Nabob, by a thorough inveſtigation of his debts, and by appropriating a ſpecific fund for the payment of ſuch capital ſums, and legal accumulations of intereſt, as ought in juſtice and equity to be paid; and alſo, with the aſſiſtance of agents from the Nabob and Rajah, to liquidate all money tranſactions depending between theſe princes, fixing at the ſame time the conditional rights of each to their poſſeſſions, and their relations to each other.

SECONDLY, to fix the lineal ſucceſſion to the nabobſhip in the eldeſt ſon, agreeably to the royal Firmaund, and the renunciation of the Soubah *; with a re-ſpectable

* By the Mogul Firmaund, bearing date the 26th Auguſt 1765, to the Nabob, " conſtituting him Governor and Nabob of the Carnatic, and the countries dependent thereon, the reverſion and perpetuity thereof is unalienably granted, and ſpecifically confirmed on the Nabob's eldeſt ſon Meyonulmuluck, Omdat-ul-Omrah, and their heirs

ſpectable jaghire (a penſion chargeable on lands) to the ſecond ſon, and the reſt of the children; and to limit the ſucceſſion of Tanjore, after the demiſe of the preſent poſſeſſor, and his direct lineal deſcendants.

THIRDLY, to eſtabliſh a king's reſident upon the coaſt (unleſs, upon a new ſyſtem, the ſovereignty ſhall be aſſumed by the crown of Britain, and a governor appointed to act under a double commiſſion from the Crown and Company) to be a check on the rapacity of the Company's government in matters immediately relating to country princes; but on no pretext to exerciſe any power which might in the leaſt

heirs for ever." Which Firmaund was ratified by the Soubah of the Decan, and his claims to the Carnatic for ever renounced, in a ſolemn deed or treaty, bearing date the 23d February 1768, containing the ſame expreſs limitations on the Nabob's eldeſt ſon, the Omdat-ul-Omrah. Thus any act of the Nabob to alter the ſucceſſion, will operate as a direct breach and forfeiture of the royal Firmaund, and of the Warrantee of the Engliſh Company to the Soubah, in the laſt-mentioned treaty.

 interfere

interfere with the Company's trade or revenues.

And fourthly, to secure to the Nabob every prerogative that belongs to his rank and title, and external respect from the natives who occupy the Company's jaghire lands: but to disqualify him, or any other person acting for him, or under his controul, from renting the jaghire lands, or any of the Circar lands, ceded to the Company by the royal Firmaund in 1765.

I am, &c.

LETTER

LETTER LII.

To J—— M——, Efq. London.

Calcutta, Dec. 13, 1779.

I HAVE long flattered myfelf in vain, with the hopes of a journey to Europe over land. I find that I muft once more commit myfelf to the watery element, though my health is but little fuited to confinement on board a fhip.—But I am pretty well inured to difappointments.

I HAVE a few more obfervations to make on the Company's affairs in this country. If I find an opportunity of tranfmitting them to you before I fet fail myfelf, which I have fome reafon to expect, I will embrace it. If not, I fhall carry home my own letters, as teftimonies that the diftance of an hemifphere has not rendered me for-getful

getful of my friends, or unmindful of my engagements.

There are few circumſtances of a public nature that are more diſreputable to the conduct of the Engliſh in India, than the plan and general government of the town of Calcutta in Bengal. There is not in the world a country, except the United Provinces, ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed for the neatneſs, regularity, uniformity, and cleanlineſs in its cities, towns, houſes, and incloſures, as England. It is nevertheleſs a truth, that from the weſtern extremity of California in America to the eaſtern coaſt of Japan, there is not a ſpot where judgment, taſte, decency, and conveniency, are ſo groſſly inſulted as in that ſcattered and confuſed chaos of houſes, huts, ſheds, ſtreets, lanes, alleys, windings, gutters, ſinks, and tanks, which, jumbled into an undiſtinguiſhed maſs of filth and corruption, equally offenſive to human ſenſe and health, compoſe the capital of the Engliſh Company's government in India. The

very

very ſmall portion of cleanlineſs which it enjoys, is owing to the familiar intercourſe of hungry jackals by night, and ravenous vultures, kites, and crows by day. In like manner it is indebted to the ſmoke raiſed in public ſtreets, in temporary huts and ſheds, for any reſpite it enjoys from muſquettoes, the natural production of ſtagnated and putrid waters. But while the ſmoke, iſſuing from numberleſs places, ſaves the inhabitants of Calcutta from one evil, it ſubjects them to another; for by endeavouring to ſhut it out at windows and doors, they are forced alſo to ſhut out pure air at the hours of retirement, when its uſe is moſt eſſential to reſpiration and health.

ASSUREDLY, no people upon earth have ſo much reaſon to be grateful to Providence, as thoſe of Calcutta, for having ſo long miraculouſly preſerved themſelves and their properties from thoſe dreadful devaſtations which naturally ariſe from a total neglect and abuſe of fire. Every houſe

houſe and office ſeems to be propped by huts (which in the language of the country are called choppers) compoſed of bamboos; their ſides, tops, and floors being covered with mats, ſtraw, or long graſs. In theſe huts, formed of ſuch inflammable materials, as well as in the public ſtreets and vacant ſpaces, fires are conſtantly preſerved, as they were of old by veſtals in heathen temples. Theſe choppers are the habitations of careleſs ſervants, palanquin bearers, coolies, and horſes. They are alſo uſed for the purpoſe of ſheltering carriages. To theſe choppers, or to a more ſuſpicious cauſe, is the loſs of more than twenty-two lacks of rupees, conſumed in one of the Company's warehouſes on the memorable *fifth of November laſt*, confidently attributed.—The public bear theſe nuiſances with wonderful patience, although they are taxed to the extent of about 80,000 rupees annually, for the expreſs purpoſe of eſtabliſhing a police in Calcutta. This heavy tax is applied, in conformity with the general

maxims

maxims that direct the conduct of the Company's principal servants, to the purpose of enriching some favoured tool, under the unmeaning denomination of *Jemmadar*, and the appointment of several hundreds of inferior tyrants, oppressors, and tax-gatherers. Of the tax thus levied by authority, it is said, that a quarter part is distributed amongst *inferiors*, and the remaining three parts become the plunder of the *chief*, who openly licenses nuisances as the valuable consideration for pecuniary gratifications, formally stipulated and regularly paid. As to the under-officers of the police, they are by no means deficient in following the honourable example of the *Jemmadar*, by the connivance, or actual commission of thefts, robberies, and abuses of various kinds.

The disease is too far advanced to be speedily remedied by the application of any medicine, however powerful its general efficacy. The property of individuals is too sacred to be violated, and too con-

 siderable

ſiderable to be purchaſed; and the various prejudices, paſſions, and opinions of men, will never freely concur in any meaſure, however obvious its utility to the public. If ever the police of Calcutta be put on a proper footing, it will neither be owing to the wiſdom or virtue of the Company's ſervants in India: the reform muſt originate in Leadenhall-ſtreet, and be authoriſed by the Britiſh parliament.

WHATEVER plan ſhall be adopted for eſtabliſhing a proper police in Calcutta, may be carried into execution by a conſtitutional body, conſiſting of the governor general, the ſupreme council of the Indies, and a certain limited number of perſons, properly qualified, and elected by the free and copy-holders of Calcutta, to repreſent them for theſe ſpecial purpoſes in general aſſembly. Theſe three eſtates ſhould be inveſted with legiſlative powers, ſufficient for enacting laws for reſuming, ſelling, throwing down, re-building, repairing, lengthening, widening, cleanſing, draining,

ing, and doing every thing consistent with justice to individuals, that may be necessary for building houses, of making streets, squares, tanks, drains, and establishing a regular police within the city and precincts of Calcutta; and also for assessing and levying taxes, duties, and imposts on the inhabitants thereof, for these purposes.

As luxury is a constant attendant in all courts, so the vices that arise from luxury are enemies to commerce, manufactures, and every species of industry. It should therefore become an invariable maxim in all commercial states, to separate the seats of government from those of trade. Eastern customs have constituted pomp, parade, and courtly state, an essential principle of government. Luxury therefore, in the political constitutions of India, forms a part of their nature, or as Montesquieu would have said, of their spirit. It is absolutely necessary, to secure obedience, and a regular subordination of rank, from the prince on the throne, down to the lowest

of above twenty-ſeven claſſes of people. It will be proper to continue, for ſome time, the appearance of a practice ſo conformable to thoſe ideas of ſuperiority and power which prevail in the eaſt, and which are therefore material to good government.

But there is not any reaſon why trade ſhould imitate an example of luxury, which would not only embarraſs it with intolerable charges, but which, by corrupting their minds, and enervating their conſtitutions, would render traders and manufacturers debauched, ſlothful, rapacious, and unjuſt.

Perhaps it would favour both the advancement of commerce, and the ſcheme of re-building, and reforming the police of Calcutta, that ſome other place than that town ſhould be allotted for the chief ſeat of government. The only part of the preſent city worth preſerving, is upon or near the Eſplanade, which is principally

occupied

occupied by the immediate members of government, and courts of juſtice: the remaining parts of the town are compoſed of ſuch baſe materials, that they will be demoliſhed in a very few years by the weather. The houſes upon and near the eſplanade and grand tank, are capable of accommodating ſuch a number of thoſe who now reſide in the noxious part of the town, as to enable the commiſſioners, after an accurate ſurvey, and a judicious attention to particular good houſes and ſtreets, to commence in a ſhort time the new modelling thereof, without ſubjecting the inhabitants to any ſerious inconveniences. It is notorious, that the waters which ſettle in Calcutta, although lower than the river when the tide is up, may be conveyed, at a ſmall expence, to the canals or nullas which communicate with the ſalt lake.

THE next object of conſideration ſhould be, where to fix the ſeat of government. Doubtleſs, the wealth and ſuperior importance

portance of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa, as well as many other advantages which they poſſeſs, without reckoning upon the army which is entertained and ſtationed in them, and the ſuperb fortreſs of Fort William, are motives abundantly ſufficient to caſt the ſcale in their favour, if it could be ſuppoſed to remain for a moment in ſuſpence. It is of no importance, in the choice of the ſeat of government, which of theſe provinces is the moſt centrical to the Britiſh dominions in India, as whereſoever it is, it will become the general reſort, eſpecially in a country where ſuch reſpect is paid to [redacted] power, and where the principles of perſonal addreſs and politeneſs are better underſtood and practiſed, than in any other upon earth. Juſtice and ſound policy conſpire to point out the propriety of accommodating the remote provinces with aſſizes and inferior courts of juſtice, to relieve the people from the grievous charges and perſonal inconveniences with which juſtice has of late years been purchaſed in Calcutta.

IN

In the choice of the object in queſtion, ſtrict regard ſhould be had to ſituation, water-communication, elevation, and air. Upon the banks of the Houghly, from Cadgeree to Coſſimbazar, there is not ſo eligible a ſpot as that pitched upon by the repreſentatives of the late French Eaſt India Company at Chandernagore. The elevation of that town is ſuch, that all the rain which falls in and around it, will nearly convey itſelf, at all ſeaſons of the year and tides, without obſtruction, into the river. Its ſituation is even, its air clear, dry, and ſalubrious. Its ſoil contains ſuch a proportion of ſand, as to render it fertile by inſtantly abſorbing the rain. The river Houghly is navigable to Chandernagore by a third rate man of war, as the late gallant Admiral Watſon proved in the Kent of 74 guns; but it is not navigable for a veſſel of any conſiderable burthen half a league higher up: a circumſtance, by the way, which may give riſe to an idea of facilitating the com-

munication between Calcutta and Chandernagore *, by a ſtone or wooden bridge over the river, below Chinſura. Various advantages in point of ſecurity, revenue, and conveniency, might ariſe from this communication, in which a draw-bridge ſhould be made over one of the arches at each ſide, for the paſſage of large or maſted veſſels, as well as for occaſional defence.

THE intimate connection between the trade of Calcutta and the navigation of the river Houghly, and its communication with the ſeveral rivers which are navigable into the Marratta territories, and to the northern and eaſtern extremities of Hindoſtan, will naturally claim all poſſible attention from the inhabitants of Calcutta. Wherefore, it may be thought adviſeable to commit to the legiſlature of that city, the guardianſhip of theſe navigations, as far as the Britiſh domain doth

* They are ſituated on oppoſite ſides of the Houghly.

extend,

extend. Nor is it to be doubted, when our people ſhall have once heartily engaged in the improvement of theſe navigations, that the force of example, manifeſt advantage, and Britiſh influence, will induce the neighbouring princes to purſue, throughout their dominions, the ſame plans for the general benefit. The difficulties which the Company's adminiſtration allege, in excuſe for their own negligence of ſo important an object as the improvement of the navigation of the Houghly, would doubtleſs excite the indignation of every Engliſhman, if they were not ſo much calculated to move his ridicule. The means of overcoming theſe difficulties are aſſuredly very eaſy and ſimple.

I am, &c.

LETTER

LETTER LIII.

To J—— M——, Efq. London.

Calcutta, Dec. 18, 1779.

THE prefent mode of adminiftering juftice, under the fanction of a Britifh act of parliament, in Bengal, is a fubject which calls aloud for public attention and fpeedy relief. This dreadful evil threatens the extinction of the Britifh power and property in India. Corruption hath ufurped the facred feat of juftice, and, fhielded by the power of a venal government, hath held quiet poffeffion of this ftation for fix lingering years, without even the veil of hypocrify to fhade the horrors of oppreffion and favage violence. Here, however, I might joyfully remark a fingle exception, in the foul of Sir R——t Ch———rs, had Nature, extending

tending to this amiable perſon her kind liberality, fortified his virtue with reſolution to withſtand magiſterial frowns and ſupercilious arrogance. The mind, overwhelmed with a confuſion of cruel, iniquitous, and violent deciſions and executions, is incapable of arranging the various ideas that occur upon this ſubject of horror. On this account, however, there is the leſs cauſe of regret, that the united voice of the whole people has accompanied an humble addreſs to parliament, with an authentic ſtate of facts, which ſufficiently paint their deplorable ſituations. What muſt be the tormenting feelings of thoſe perſons, who recommended to their ſovereign, to inveſt ſuch men with the moſt ſacred and important of his own prerogatives, when they come to diſcover, that the people who were intended to be made happy under a mild and ſteady adminiſtration of impartial juſtice, are labouring under the unrelenting ſcourge of judicial tyrants?

Let the protectors of ſuch men demonſtrate their diſappointment and concern at their conduct, by yielding them up as ſacrifices to that juſtice which they have ſo heinouſly offended. This is the only atonement in their power to make to an injured people: it will ſuffice, and the example will deter others from treading in their abominable paths.

The memorial and ſtate of facts to which I allude, are ſaid to diſcloſe a ſcene of proceedings which, by being irrefutable, cannot fail to be redreſſed, even without their being carried before parliament; unleſs the neglect of not communicating their contents to the parties complained of, before they were tranſmitted to Europe, ſhould render it neceſſary to hear the accuſed in their own defence, leſt an *ex partè* deciſion, however ſtrong, credible, and authentic the accompanying teſtimonies, ſhould eſtabliſh a precedent which might juſtify their own meaſures; or unleſs his Majeſty, in compaſſion

paſſion to the ſufferings of five thouſand Britiſh ſubjects, and twelve millions of Indians, ſhould be graciouſly pleaſed to order the accuſed home, to anſwer for themſelves in Weſtminſter-hall.

BUT the condemnation and execution of Nundocomar; the violent impriſonment and deaths of the native judges, in the cauſe of the Begum of Patna; the impolitic outrage on the perſon, zenana, houſehold gods, and property, of the Rajah of Coſſijurah; and many other acts of notorious injuſtice, cry aloud for examples of juſt vengeance upon the ſpot where the abominable deeds were perpetrated; in order to convince all Aſia, that they had neither the authority nor ſanction of the Britiſh government, and that, however the ſtreams may be polluted, the fountain of Britiſh juſtice is yet uncorrupted.

THE mention of one circumſtance may alone ſuffice, to give an idea of the rapacity of the ſupreme court of judicature in Bengal,

and

and of the deplorable ſtate of that country, over which it extends its iniquitous juriſdiction.—On a medium computation, it has been found, that the fees of proceſſes and writs iſſuing from the ſupreme court, have amounted annually to the enormous ſum of four hundred and twenty-ſix thouſand pounds ſterling. What muſt be the entire ſum which, according to this ſpecimen, is exacted by the ſeveral members of this arbitrary and oppreſſive court?

THE ſtory of Nundocomar, to which I have alluded, is briefly as follows:

MAHA RAJAH NUNDOCOMAR was a prieſt of the higheſt order in the Bramin caſt, and a prince. His family and caſt ſerved only as leading ſteps to the ranks which he had long occupied in the adminiſtration of government in the ſubahſhip of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa; his diſtinguiſhed abilities, addreſs, and knowledge, procured him the unbounded confidence and direction of the Muxhadabad Durbar.—His

character

character for intrigue, and in private life, made him obnoxious to many; and his power naturally created jealoufy and rivality.—What in any country, and efpecially in Europe, would have been diftinguifhed and applauded as virtue and pure patriotic zeal, was held criminal by the Company's fervants, and their native adherents.—He beheld, with jealoufy and anguifh, the growing dominion of Europeans and Chriftians in Hindoftan, and the confequent decay of native government, influence, and freedom. He faw his prince bearing a fhadow of power, fupporting a fham-court, and every day retrenching his rights and affected prerogatives. — His own intereft, doubtlefs, led the Bramin to view thefe innovations with concern and difcontent, and the fame motive might have ftimulated his defires to difconcert them.—Whether thefe were the real caufes of fufpicion in the prefidency of Fort William, or whether the minifter of the prefent Nabob Mabaruk-ul-Dowla, was not fo lavifh of his *minor*

mafter's lacks as was expected; it was their will and pleafure to feize the perfon of the minifter of Nundocomar, to conduct him to Calcutta, and to detain him a prifoner, under a military guard, until the arrival of the fupreme council, in October 1774.

After having borne marks of European defpotifm, in being punifhed for imaginary delinquencies, it was imagined, that his nature thenceforward would be pliant and condefcending.—His capacity and intrigue were thought ufeful qualifications to work upon General Clavering, in the capacity of banyan to the fecond in council and military commander in chief, and to fecond the views of the governor general, whom he was to ferve, all the while, in the character of a fpy, and as a penfioner. The plan was laid, and the Maha Rajah was willing to undertake the two-fold office of banyan and fpy. But the general had had a previous recommendation, and his promife was inviolable.

THE civil chief disappointed, renounced the Bramin; who, on his part (not unmindful of past sufferings, and dreading more) finding that the ministry of the Nabobship of Bengal, and the distribution of money, became subjects of investigation by the superior board, exhibited to that board, a state of some pecuniary applications, amounting to such direct charges against the governor general, as would have involved forfeitures of place and money.

To prevent the operation of the immediate charge by Nundocomar, and to prevent similar acts by other natives, became the necessary subject of secret deliberation. It was discovered, that about nine years before the passing of the British statute law, to constitute a court of judicature, and to establish laws within the town of Calcutta, and the limited precincts of the subordinate factories, extending only to natives in the service of the Company, or who voluntarily chose to submit any deci-

 sion

ſion to that juriſdiction, Nundocomar was ſuſpected of having, in the adjuſtment of ſome executerſhip committed to him by a deceaſed friend of his own country and kindred, forged a name to a receipt for money.—Upon this charge a warrant was iſſued out againſt him, though detained by force in Calcutta; and he was committed to cloſe priſon.

It is neceſſary to make you acquainted with ſuch of the Gentoo tenets and the Hindoo laws, as relate to the preſent cauſe. The Gentoo religion injoins ablution, by daily waſhing the whole body, and waſhing of hands before and after every meal; that perſons of different *caſts* ſhall not eat together; that the food of one *caſt* ſhall not be dreſſed in the ſame veſſel that the food of another *caſt* has been dreſſed in, nor be dreſſed by any other *caſt*; that it ſhall be dreſſed upon the earth; and that theſe ablutions and refreſhments ſhall be performed out of the view of others, or in private. By the Hindoo

laws and cuſtoms, and particularly by reaſon of theſe religious principles, perſons are never confined in priſon for crimes or for debts: a guard is placed over their own houſes, or over others houſes where the perſons confined can exerciſe the rites, &c. injoined by religion.—Forgery is only denominated a *fraud* in any perſon, and puniſhed by mulcts; but no offence whatever is capitally criminal in a Bramin, except ſtate crimes, heinous murders, and ſacrilege; nor is it allowed by their laws to execute the ſentence of death, but by ſpilling the blood with the edge of a ſword.—Strangling is diſallowed *particularly*; becauſe in the ſpilling of blood, they conceive that crimes are expiated.—Theſe being their principles of religious faith, confinements and executions which violate them, operate as a double puniſhment, and aggravate the public injury.—The laws of his country were not obſerved towards Nundocomar; the pretended forgery was committed nine years before the Britiſh law was enacted, and the law it-

 ſelf

ſelf expreſsly ſtipulated the ſubſequent period at which the penal clauſes were to have effect, viz. the firſt of Auguſt 1774.

When the forgery was ſaid to have been committed, the civil government was conducted by the Nabob, and the Hindoo laws adminiſtered by his judges, and in his courts.—The author of this forgery was the Nabob's prime miniſter, and the perſon aggrieved was his ſubject; neither of them were in the ſervice of the Company, or ſubject in any ways to their juriſdiction.—Nundocomar, after having exhibited charges in the ſupreme council againſt the governor general, and prepared to prove them, was ſeized for this forgery, and thrown into the common priſon with felons and debtors, whoſe company to a Gentoo was pollution; he wanted the means of performing the ablutions and indiſpenſable rites of his religious faith and his caſt, and of obſerving the neceſſary rules of preſerving life,

in the mode of dreſſing and eating his food.

THE governor general refuſed the competency of the ſupreme council to take cognizance of any charges againſt, or crimes imputed to him; but it was neceſſary to remove the bold teſtimony of Nundocomar, and by his example to deter others in future. His own, and the ſupplications of others, to the judges, in behalf of the Bramin, for ſuch indulgences as were conſonant to his religion, caſt, and civil ſtation, were diſregarded. It is confidently alledged, that both witneſſes and lawyers were brow-beat at the bar of this tribunal. Mr. W. W— and Mr. J. L—, two gentlemen of the moſt unblemiſhed characters, and of unſhaken integrity, incapable of being influenced, were thought improper perſons to remain upon the corrected *venire* of the ſheriff, when the trial came on.—Every plea againſt the application of the late act of parliament, upon *ex poſt facto* principles, and various other

matters, were urged in vain. All the bench, except Sir Robert Chambers, declared, that he was amenable to that law, He was found guilty; condemned to be hanged; and was publicly executed within a few paces of Fort William, to the utter aſtoniſhment and terror of all Hindoſtan.—This anſwered all the purpoſes of the conſpirators; the charge againſt the governor general dropt, and no native of India has dared to hint a cenſure againſt an European member of government in Hindoſtan ever ſince. The trial publiſhed in England, is univerſally declared, on this ſide, to be ſpurious and falſe. A narrative of the proceedings in council at that time, printed by order of the Court of Directors, contains many of the atrocious abuſes committed on this unhappy Prince and Bramin.

I am, &c.

LETTER

LETTER LIV.

To J—— M——, Esq: London.

Calcutta, Dec. 21, 1779.

THE avowed syftem of the prefent governor general, is to fupport his own power, by providing for his partizans and favourites, in defiance of the Company's orders, and at their expence. By various contracts which he has made, in the name of the Company, with individuals, during the current year, his conftituents are injured at leaft one million fterling. The moft important articles in the ftatement of facts which are the foundation of this heavy charge, will appear upon the Company's records. You would, doubtlefs, be but little entertained by a minute review of the bullock contract; the contract for victualling the army;

that for victualling Fort William; the Budge-row and Pool-bundy contracts; contracts with Mr. A—ms; with Mr. S——n; with Dr. C——ll; with Captain F—d; with Colonel P——r; with M. V——r H——n, &c. &c. But among the various abuses committed under the reign of the present *ruler* of Bengal, there are some that may not, perhaps, be thought wholly unentertaining. Mr. T——r, who had amassed a capital fortune by contracting with the Company for elephants, was willing to treat, this year, with the supreme council, on the same terms on which he had contracted with them formerly; but the governor general insisted, that his demand was not high enough.—The salary of the a——te g——l in the supreme court, was advanced, as an inducement *not* to do the express duty of his nomination, and to decline the defence of the Company's rights and property. An ambassador was appointed to the Lama of Thibet, at a heavy monthly

monthly charge, but never ſent.—Captain P——r, the governor's military ſecretary, at an enormous monthly charge, was ſent as an ambaſſador to the poor diſtreſſed Rana of Gohud, to witneſs the execution of a ſham-treaty, which had already had all the authenticity which the cuſtom of the Eaſt required.

THE poſt of preſident at the court of Aſoph-ul-Dowla, the Nabob of Oude, is one of thoſe appointments, which, the annual diſtribution of about a million pounds ſterling, renders an object worthy of the acceptance of a prince of the firſt blood royal in Europe. Mr. N——l M——n having executed this truſt to the entire ſatisfaction of his friends, and the impoveriſhment of the country, it was thought a compliment due to the new aſſociate of the governor, the ribboned knight, to beſtow it on one of his friends. He named Mr. H—a; who, on his part, unwilling to truſt to events, and the caprice of human nature, poſted away with

the greatest expedition, to seize the golden fleece, expecting his credentials to follow him. Unfortunately, he reckoned without his host: his departure was premature, for he had not settled preliminaries; his conduct was resented; and Mr. C——s H———n P——g, a kinsman of lady C——'s was appointed to the residentship.

Mr. P——g moved across from his station at Rungpore, to take charge of the Vizier's country and treasures in Lucknow, *and to procure a proper reception for his benefactor*, who followed him in great state and pomp to review the army at their several cantonments. But alas! the fleece was already closely shorn. Empty caskets, exhausted treasures, a depopulated and uncultivated country, exposed to the melancholy eye dreary wastes, and blasted hopes to the afflicted mind. Even the preconcerted appearance and pomp of Saudit Ally, the ambitious brother, and rancorous enemy of the Nabob, who accompanied

panied the general from an exile in Calcutta, as an engine of terror, the common inftrument of extortion in Hindoftan, could not, on this occafion, perform miracles, and produce precious metals, and ftones out of affignments on zemindaries that were abandoned.—When we attend to the difappointment of the eager Mr. Hofea, and of the pompous military commander, we are moved with laughter; but we feel emotions of another kind, when we reflect on the miferable ftate to which the princes of Hindoftan are reduced by European tyranny. The country of the Nabob is every where laid wafte; manufactures are extirpated; all avenues to the Perfian and inland trade are obftructed; and the body of the people have fled for fuccour, and the very means of exiftence, to their late avowed and inveterate enemies, the Marrattas and the Jauts. It is confidently alledged, that, were the Company to move the brigade which is ftationed in the province of Oude, out of it, the Nabob, with his whole

whole court and dependents, would be cut to pieces by his own enraged and oppressed subjects.—But the distress of this prince will best appear from the inclosed extract of a letter of Mr. Purling's, the resident at the Nabob's court, dated at Lucknow, Nov. 19, 1779, and from the translation, which I herewith send you, of a letter from the Nabob to the resident *.

MR.

* I have in vain laid before him (the Vizier and Nabob of Oude) the ruinous consequences of a dismission of any part of the troops which are now employed under the command of British officers, the certain deficiency in the collections, and the laying his country open to foreign invaders. I have in vain urged him, on the glaring impropiety of refusing Tuncaws upon the same districts as last year, and giving them to his own troops without discipline, to support his government; and always ready to plunder every country to which they have been sent.—His answer has been invariable, that while he had the means of providing for the demands of the Company, he had never refused it, but he is now deprived of that ability by the drought, which has obliged him to give deductions to the amount of twenty-five lacks of rupees; and even now, the Aumils are desirous of being released from their engagements, upon the plea of inability to comply with them: his family, and that of his father and

MR. PURLING's and the Vizier's letters being read at a conſultation in the ſecret department

and grand-father, after repeated promiſes made to them, and broken, are ſtill unprovided for: that he did not believe the council meant to ſeize the expences of his table and houſehold, which was all that was now left him. When I quitted him, I declared, that I did not imagine the governor and council would ever conſent to the reform of the new brigade, and the other preſent eſtabliſhments for his collections; that if they were not diſmiſſed they muſt be paid, and from the ſources of that country for the protection of which they were raiſed; that I would have him for the preſent to conſider the means of granting the ſupplies, in the hopes of an anſwer, more likely to be pleaſing to our government. A day or two afterwards I received a letter from him, a tranſlate of which (N° 3.) I think it neceſſary to lay before you. As I have never been able to induce his excellency to adopt any other ſentiments than thoſe he firſt declared; and have received another letter from him, expreſſing much diſſatisfaction at my urgency, on a point he had determined on, and would not give up, unleſs he ſhould be compelled by the governor and council; I have thought it needleſs to preſs him farther at preſent; but at his requeſt have tranſmitted a letter from him to the governor general, ſetting forth his diſtreſs.

In this ſituation, it only remains for me to lay before you the following extract of Mr. Nathaniel Middleton's letter of the 5th inſtant, the day on which the charge was delivered to me.

“ When

department the 13th inftant, the governor general recommended the following draught

"When I have of late preffed his Excellency for further affignments, he has pleaded inability to anfwer the very heavy demands which will this year fall upon him, on account of the drought which has unfortunately happened, to the almoft deftruction of the Khurriff-harveft, and the confequent diminution of his revenue. I am concerned to confefs, there are but too good grounds for this plea. The misfortune has been general throughout the whole of the Vizier's dominions, obvious to every body; and fo very fatal have been its confequences, that no perfon of either credit or character, would enter into engagements with government for farming the country, without a very heavy deduction in the laft year's jumma; which his excellency has been compelled to allow to all who have been appointed to farms; and fome who have engaged under thefe circumftances, have, to my knowledge, made moft urgent applications to the Nabob and his minifters, to be releafed from their obligations, and allowed to relinquifh their farms, which they found they could not hold but at a certain lofs to themfelves.

"You will foon be convinced, by undoubted teftimony and loud complaints from every quarter, of the reality of this misfortune, which has neceffarily been the means of delaying the general fettlement of the country, and of preventing my hitherto getting affignments for more than rupees 68,82,000—but how far its operation and effects preclude the Nabob from anfwering the demands upon him on public account, you will be the beft able to judge from

draught of a letter to be written to Mr. Purling, which, if agreed to, might ferve as the fubftance of one to be written on the fame fubject to the Nabob.

To

from the ftatements you will obtain of his eftimated revenue."

As it appears from the whole of this extract, that Mr. Middleton had met with obftacles, from a reafon affigned, which no human forefight could prevent, I hope your honourable board will not imagine I have been remifs or inattentive. Nothing but a compulfive order from you, upon an undefined right, could obtain the collection of a rupee more than I have Tuncaws for; and nothing but a decifive and fpeedy inftruction from you, when the time lapfed may not occafion a material lofs in the revenue, can poffibly procure the grants neceffary for the current difburfements from my treafury.

Upon this principle it is needlefs to add, that no bill from the prefidency can poffibly be anfwered, fince the demands on the treafury upon the prefent eftablifhments, exceed the expected income; and the laft drafts of the honourable board, and their order for the payment of two lacks of rupees to Captain Popham, which has been complied with, have fo effectually drained the treafury, that I have not yet been able to pay the firft brigade for October.

Tranflation

To Mr. CHARLES PURLING, *Refident at the Vizier's Court.*

SIR,

" We have received your letter of the 19th November, ftating the objections of the

Tranflation of a letter from the Vizier to the Refident at his Court.

The friendfhip between the honourable Company, Mr. Haftings, governor general, fupreme council, and myfelf, has not the leaft fhadow of difunion Dominion, property, and honour, are but one and the fame to us.

The fituation of my affairs refpecting the prefent time, I informed Mr. Middleton of, both by writing and converfation; and I now proceed to lay the whole before you.

During *thefe three years paft*, the expence occafioned by the troops in brigade, and others commanded by European officers, has much diftreffed the fupport of my houfehold, infomuch that the allowance made to the feraglio and children of the deceafed Nabob, has been reduced to one fourth part of what it was; upon which they have fubfifted in a very diftreffed manner for thefe two years paft. The attendants, writers, fervants, &c. of my court, have received no pay for thefe two years; and there is at prefent no

the Nabob to the immediate difcharge of the fums due from his government, for

no part of the country that can be allotted to the payment of my father's private creditors, whofe applications are daily preffing upon me.—All thefe difficulties I have for thefe three years paft ftruggled through, and found this confolation therein, that it was complying with the pleafure of the honourable Company, and in the hope that the fupreme council would make enquiry, *from impartial perfons*, into my diftreffed fituation. But I am now forced into a reprefentation. From the great increafe of expence, the revenues were neceffarily farmed at a high rate; and deficiencies followed yearly. The country and cultivation are abandoned; and this year in particular, from the exceffive drought of the feafon, deductions of many lacks have been allowed the farmers, who are ftill left unfatisfied; and I have received but juft fufficient to fupport my abfolute neceffities; and for this reafon, many of the old Chieftains, with their troops and ufeful attendants of the court, were forced to leave it, and now there is left only a few foot and horfe for the collection of the revenues; and fhould the zemindars be refractory, there is not a fufficient number to reduce them to the obedience of my collectors.

The late raifed brigade at Futtygur, is not only quite ufelefs to my government, but is moreover the caufe of much lofs both in the revenues and cuftoms; the detached body of troops under other European officers, bring no-

 thing

for the expences of the current year. The principle on which theſe objections are made, appears to us ſo repugnant to the Nabob's engagements with the Company, and with the intimate connection of his intereſts and theirs, that we cannot

thing but confuſion to the affairs of government, and are entirely their own maſters.

In this diſtreſſed ſtate of my affairs, it is juſt and requiſite, that Mr. Haſtings, General Mr. Eyre Coote, and the ſupreme council, ſhould give me relief.—This year I cannot poſſibly provide for the new brigade at Futtygur, the corps of horſe, and other detached bodies of troops in my country. I hope you will conſider well theſe repreſentations, and explain them in a manner you may judge proper to the governor general and ſupreme council.—On my part, country, property, and life, are devoted to the will of the honourable Company, and I hope they will therefore do juſtice to theſe my complaints, and prevent my falling into diſtreſs, by not having wherewith to ſupport the neceſſary expences of my houſehold. For the expence of the brigade at Cawn Pore, and other diſburſements, I have given Tuncaws and orders upon my country; the remainder of my revenue, on account of the drought, has fallen ſo ſhort as not to be ſufficient for my neceſſary expences, being deficient to the amount of fifteen lacks, and the above proviſion will bring upon me this year very great diſtreſs.—What can I ſay more?

heſitate

hesitate a moment to declare them totally inadmissible; and as we have no doubt of the Nabob's ability to furnish the sums absolutely necessary for the service of the year, we require you to repeat the demand in writing, to give weight and efficacy to your requisition. We have judged it expedient to advise him formally by letter, of your being authorized to make it, and that we expect his ready and chearful acquiescence in it. In the present circumstances of his government, and of ours, to disband any part of the troops that we maintain for his service, is a measure no less improper for him to suggest, than it would be for us to adopt. He stands engaged to our government to maintain the English armies, which at his own request have been formed for the protection of his dominions; and it is our part, not *his*, to judge, and to determine in what manner, and *at what time*, these shall be reduced or withdrawn: but were it otherwise, this is not the time to propose it, when we are threatened with external dan-

gers common to both, which require rather an augmentation than a diminution of the means which we poſſeſs for repelling them. That this gives us cauſe for the moſt alarming ſuſpicions, ſince he cannot be ignorant that the Marrattas, our enemies, and the ancient enemies of his government and family, are in arms, and a war unavoidable. That at ſuch a juncture, a propoſition for diſcharging any part of his forces, cannot fail to encourage them to attack his dominions. That the advice of his miniſters, who have inſtigated him to make it, will, we perſuade ourſelves, appear to him as inſidious as it is dangerous; and that we hope he will diſmiſs them from his ſervice and confidence, as unworthy of both.

We are, &c."

THIS letter having been read, the governor general ſaid—I would further propoſe, that a copy of this letter, or ſuch other as it ſhall be agreed to write upon this occaſion, be tranſmitted to the commander

mander in chief; and that he be requefted to affift with his perfonal influence and application to the Nabob, to give it effect.

It was agreed — That this fubject fhould lie for confideration.

This important fubject was refumed by the governor and council on Wednefday the 15th. I fend you a copy of their reafonings on this interefting occafion *, which will ferve to give you a juft idea of the oppofite principles that divide the fupreme council. On the arguments of Mr. Haftings and Mr. Francis, I fhall make no comment; both thefe gentlemen poffefs the moft happy talents for writing: and if Mr. Francis ever become a member of the Houfe of Commons, I will venture to predict, that he will foon be ranked among the very firft fpeakers.

I am, &c.

* See Appendix C.

LETTER LV.

To J—— M——, Eſq; London.

Calcutta, Dec. 23, 1779.

I AM now to fulfil my promiſe, to give you a particular account of the day, as it is commonly ſpent by an Engliſhman in Bengal.

About the hour of ſeven in the morning, his durvan (porter or door-keeper) opens the gate, and the viranda (gallery) is free to his circars, peons (footmen) harcarrahs (meſſengers or ſpies) chubdars (a kind of conſtables) huccabadars and conſumas (or ſteward and butler) writers and ſolicitors. The head-bearer and jemmadar enter the hall, and his bed-room at eight o'clock. A lady quits

quits his ſide, and is conducted by a private ſtair-caſe, either to her own apartment, or out of the yard. The moment the maſter throws his legs out of bed, the whole poſſé in waiting ruſh into his room, each making three ſalams, by bending the body and head very low, and touching the forehead with the inſide of the fingers, and the floor with the back part. He condeſcends, perhaps, to nod or caſt an eye towards the ſolicitors of his favour and protection. In about half an hour after undoing and taking off his long drawers, a clean ſhirt, breeches, ſtockings, and ſlippers, are put upon his body, thighs, legs, and feet, without any greater exertion on his own part, than if he was a ſtatue. The barber enters, ſhaves him, cuts his nails, and cleans his ears. The chillumjee and ewer are brought by a ſervant, whoſe duty it is, who pours water upon his hands, to waſh his hands and face, and preſents a towel. — The ſuperior then walks in ſtate to his breakfaſting parlour in his waiſtcoat; is ſeated; the conſumah

 makes

makes and pours out his tea, and preſents him with a plate of bread or toaſt. The hair-dreſſer comes behind, and begins his operation, while the huccabadar ſoftly ſlips the upper end of the ſnake or tube of the houcca * into his hand. While the hair-dreſſer is doing his duty, the gentleman is eating, ſipping, and ſmoaking by turns. By and bye, his banian preſents himſelf with humble ſalams, and advances ſomewhat more forward than the other attendants. If any of the ſolicitors are of eminence, they are honoured with chairs.—

* The houcca is the machine from which the ſmoke of tobacco and aromatics are inhaled, through a tube of ſeveral feet, or even yards in length, which is called a ſnake. To ſhew the deference or indulgence ſhewn by ladies to the practice of ſmoaking, I need but tranſcribe a card for the governor general and his lady's concert and ſupper.

Mr. and Mrs. H——s preſent their compliments to Mr. ——, and requeſt the favour of his company to a concert and upper on Thurſday next, at Mrs, H——s's houſe in town.

1ſt October, 1779.

The concert to begin at eight o'clock.

Mr. —— is requeſted to bring no ſervants except his huccabadar.

These

Theſe ceremonies are continued perhaps till ten o'clock; when, attended by his cavalcade, he is conducted to his palanquin, and preceded by eight to twelve chubdars, harcarrahs, and peons, with the inſignia of their profeſſions, and their livery diſtinguiſhed by the colour of their turbans and cumberbands (a long muſlin belt wrapt round the waiſt;) they move off at a quick amble; the ſet of bearers, conſiſting of eight generally, relieve each other with alertneſs, and without incommoding the maſter. If he has viſits to make, his peons lead and direct the bearers; and if buſineſs renders his PRESENCE ONLY neceſſary, he ſhews himſelf, and purſues his other engagements until two o'clock, when he and his company ſit down, perfectly *at eaſe* in point of dreſs and addreſs, to a good dinner, each attended by his own ſervant. And the moment the glaſſes are introduced, regardleſs of the company of ladies, the houccabadars enter, each with a houcca, and preſents the tube to his maſter, watch-

ing

ing behind and blowing the fire the whole time. As it is expected that they ſhall return to ſupper, at four o'clock they begin to withdraw without ceremony, and ſtep into their palanquins; ſo that in a few minutes, the maſter is left to go into his bed-room, when he is inſtantly undreſſed to his ſhirt, and his long drawers put on; and he lies down on his bed, where he ſleeps till about ſeven or eight o'clock: then the former ceremony is repeated, and clean linen of every kind, as in the morning, is adminiſtered; his huccabadar preſents the tube to his hand, he is placed at the tea table, and his hair-dreſſer performs his duty as before. After tea, he puts on a handſome coat, and pays viſits of ceremony to the ladies: returns a little before ten o'clock; ſupper being ſerved at ten. The company keep together till between twelve and one in the morning, preſerving great ſobriety and decency; and when they depart, our hero is conducted to his bed-room, where he finds a female companion,

to amuſe him until the hour of ſeven or eight next morning. — With no greater exertions than theſe, do the Company's ſervants amaſs the moſt ſplendid fortunes.

I am, &c.

LETTER LVI.

To J—— M——, Efq; London.

Calcutta, Dec. 25, 1779.

THE present governor g——l of B——l is doubtlefs a perfon of uncommon abilities. He is a fine writer, and though his perfonal addrefs is fo far from being elegant and infinuating, that it is inelegant and forbidding in the higheft degree; yet, by a natural vigour of mind, and an haughty boldnefs, he is fitted to acquire an afcendant over minds more virtuous and delicate, but alfo more timid and irrefolute. His fuccefs in life has confpired with the natural haughtinefs of his temper to render him ambitious, imperious,

ous, refentful, and implacable.—You will be able to form fome idea of his great opponent, Mr. Fr——s, when I tell you, that this gentleman has uniformly oppofed the meafures of the overbearing g——r g——l, with the greateft firmnefs and fpirit, though, unfortunately for his country, not with fuccefs.

ONE of the great caufes of the erroneous conduct of Mr. H——s, and of thofe who fupport his meafures, is, as I conceive, an opinion that "fear and hatred are the univerfal fprings of action in the peninfula of Hindoftan." I fhall not controvert this opinion. The very fpirit and principle of defpotic governments is fear, which in its nature implies an hatred of its object: befides, the diffolution of the Mogul empire into an infinite number of petty ftates, whofe different claims are an endlefs fource of ftrife, has contributed, in an eminent degree, to eftablifh the truth of that odious doctrine. But if the Hindoo princes,

as well as their ſubjects, are chiefly governed by hatred and fear, it by no means follows that they may not alſo be won by gentle and mild treatment. If they are impelled in fact in their general conduct by the ſcourge of fear, does it follow that they may not, by the exerciſe of generoſity and juſtice, be drawn by the cords of love? Let theſe oppoſite principles, of love and hatred, be united in a wiſe ſyſtem of policy, the one to encourage and invite the good, and the other to check and controll the bad. The ſecurity of property will prevent prejudice and hatred from occupying good minds; and the fear of juſtice will deter the vicious. To govern kingdoms by a ſyſtem founded in hatred and fear, can never be the project of a politician who looks beyond the preſent time, and ſtudies the permanency of the ſtate, as well as the happineſs of the ſubject: for, while protection, liberty, and juſtice, the plentiful ſources of induſtry, contentment, and felicity, endear the governors to thoſe that

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are governed, and ſecure the ſtate at once from internal broils and foreign conqueſts; ſlavery, oppreſſion, and injuſtice, the direful ſprings of human miſery, in their very nature point to change and revolution.

I ADMIT, and there is no doubt, that the Britiſh power in India is to be preſerved only by a reſpect and dread of the Britiſh name; nevertheleſs, it ſhould be an invariable maxim, to make a diſtinction between what degree of fear the exigency of affairs may require, and what may be thought neceſſary by an ambition of conqueſt.

IT is much to be regretted, that the juſt and mild views which direct the conduct of Meſſrs. Fr——s and W——z, do not predominate alſo in the mind of Sir E—e C——e, a name which fame had placed in an honourable and conſpicuous light. This gentleman accepted a ſeat at

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the ſupreme council board of India, and the chief command of all the Company's troops; diffuſing hopes, as well to the nation as to the proprietary, that the ſucceſſor to Sir J—n C——g would follow the footſteps of a man, whoſe unſhaken integrity was ſtimulated by a native pride, and whoſe death will ever be lamented by the friends of Britain, of juſtice, and of humanity.

BUT to be grateful, by yielding returns in kind, would ſeem to have been the new-adopted creed of this general, and junior member of council; and to propagate ſo generous a principle, would ſeem to have been the chief end of his preſent viſit to India. For, having an immenſe fortune in poſſeſſion, formerly acquired there, and no actual poſterity to inherit it; and having attained to the diſtinguiſhed honour, title, and rank juſt mentioned, at a very advanced age, and with an infirm ſtate of health, he could

have no other object in view, unless the usual companion of age and dotage, sordid avarice, urged him to a measure, which unhappily has tarnished the lustre of his former name: or that, perceiving by inspiration, or by private intelligence, the plain determined purposes of the principal leading servants in India, to subvert the constitution, and ruin the interests of the Company, he conceived the happy thought, that the sooner it was effected, the better it would be for the Company's successors, *of whatever nation*, which his helping hand would hasten, while himself, as well as his friends, would partake of the spoils. Perhaps, as age and infirmity are known to reduce men of first-rate abilities to a second state of infancy, it is more than possible, that baubles, composed of sparkling gems and precious metals, may have been deposited in his cabinet, as toys to amuse him; and being strongly tinctured with the enthusiasm of religion, he may naturally think it a *religious* duty,

to do unto others, as they have done unto him. This rare idea muft have been deeply imprinted on his mind, when he expreffed himfelf fo elaborately in the conclufion of a minute, on the fubject-matter of the famous victualling contract, viz. "However, had I not thefe fundamental principles to induce me to fupport the governor general's motion, I fhould ftill moft heartily join in it, from the long knowledge I have of the merits of the contractor, Mr. Belli." To comment on an argument and juftification fo confiftent with the laws of *perfonal friendfhip, and the abufe of a facred truft,* would be to arraign the capacity and underftanding of thofe who fhall happen to fee or hear it. The whole tenor of the conduct of this *once* gallant officer, creates pity and aftonifhment, when it is confidered as an infirmity peculiar to age, and an impaired conftitution. But confidering it in its effects, our charitable feelings are compelled to yield to others,

which

which draw a veil over the ſplendor of military atchievements, ſtain the luſtre of former merit, and inſenſibly beget contempt.

THE knight militant had ſolemnly engaged, before he left Britain, to make the intereſts of the Company, and the dignity of the nation, the primary objects of his ſtudy and care; and to execute to the extent of his abilities, and the authority veſted in him, the orders and inſtructions of his employers. At the Cape of Good Hope, on his paſſage out, at Madras, and even after landing in Bengal, he in the ſtrongeſt terms openly and frequently reprobated the conduct of Mr. Haſtings, with declarations expreſſive of a decided oppoſition to his meaſures. But alas! his reſolution failed him to that extraordinary degree, that he condeſcended to correct minutes, already recorded, which had originally ſprung from the conviction of an honeſt veteran, and ſervilely ſubmitted to faſhion them to the ideas and views of a man who had formerly aſſiſted to drive him out of In-

dia *. The firſt action in India, which diſtinguiſhed his public conduct, has already been mentioned, as a meaſure contrary to the law of nations, and a violation of a ſacred treaty: I mean his enliſting, and placing as his body-guard, the natural-born French capitulant ſoldiers, taken priſoners at Pondicherry. His unmilitary, unjuſt, and abſurd regulations of the army, conſiſting of about one thouſand articles, and occupying about as many folios of paper, had nearly been productive of very ſerious effects, at a very critical juncture; but the palpable inconſiſtencies contained in them, converted the juſt diſcontents and reſentments which at firſt agitated the minds of ſpirited officers, into pity in ſome, contempt in others, and ridicule in all †. One of the objects of his Aſiatic

* Minutes after his arrival, concerning the miſcarriage of the expedition from Bombay againſt Poonah.

† One inſtance in general orders, which is literally taken from the Calcutta Gazette, will prove this allegation to any military gentleman.

General

Aſiatic expedition, appears to have been the claim and poſſeſſion of the lands and houſe

" *General Orders by the Commander in Chief.*

" Futtygur, January 22, 1780.

" The commander in chief, with the moſt unfeigned pleaſure, adopts this public method of juſtifying the ſatiſfaction he has received, during his reſidence in this truly military cantonment. The common-place language of the mere approbation of a reviewing general, bears no part in this addreſs; the ſentiments flow from a more expanded and liberal ſource, the effuſions of Sir Eyre Coote's feelings, at proving the troops at this ſtation ſo highly diſtinguiſhed and finiſhed in their diſcipline, and ſo worthy of every encouragement within the power of their commander in chief to beſtow on them. Matters of fact alone appear the ſtrongeſt elogium that approval could direct on the ſubject; we need only advert to the reviews and exerciſes of this week, to aſcertain the juſtneſs of this action. Lieutenant Colonel Wilding, and the corps of officers, deſerve the general's thanks for their unwearied attentions, that have placed the detachment at Futtygur in the moſt conſpicuous point of view. The laurel ſeemed always to the right of the reviewing corps, till the ſucceeding day eraſed every idea of diſtinction, and left the military judge undetermined where to give the preference. The general deſires, that both Europeans and natives may have his ſentiments of their appearance and deſerts, made known to them in the fulleſt manner; and that their

house of Ghyrotty, under a vague, or rather imaginary title, unsubstantiated by deed, or even oral testimony, efficient in law or equity; which, however, was deemed sufficiently legal by his accommodated and accommodating colleagues, who granted the possession to his simple *ipse dixit*.

To gratify, however, in more essential instances, the ruling passion of a person, whose vote at the supreme board became highly consequential at the very important crisis then approaching, by the power he possessed, of casting the ponderous scale to either of the contending sides, and which would of course, deprive the governor general of the double vote which he exercised when the board, consisting only of four members, were equally divided; the knight, pausing, felt his

steadiness and discipline, convinces him, that whenever actual service gives them opportunity, they will amply repay their officers for their pains taken, and approve themselves highly disciplined troops in the fullest extent of the word."

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own importance weighed in the flattering ſcale of ambition, and ſet upon it an Aſiatic value.—People ſcruple not (in India) to rate this *newly-imported* influence, at a price of enormous magnitude, under an appellation better underſtood in the languages of the eaſt, than thoſe of Europe or the weſt.—*Public* gratifications appeared, firſt, in the advance of above twenty thouſand pounds ſterling a year, in addition to ſixteen thouſand pounds, to which his annual ſalaries and emoluments, as commander in chief of the army, and a member of the ſupreme council, were reſtricted by act of parliament, and poſitive orders from the Company.—Indeed, he ſhewed more moderation in the demand made by himſelf, of ſucceeding only to the emoluments of commander in chief, as enjoyed by Brigadier General Stibbert (who had no ſeat in council, nor eſtabliſhed ſalary affixed to the chief command) whom he had ſuperſeded, than his devoting friends ſhewed in his behalf. Theſe hav-

ing the true knowledge of good and evil, of his importance, and withal, a grateful ſenſe of the advantages and ſecurity which they had already derived, and were yet to derive from his apoſtacy, freſh in their remembrance, eaſily over-ruled the principles of moderation and juſtice, and reprobated the unmercenary ideas of the general, by conſtruing the pretended ambiguity in the inſtructions which had accompanied General Clavering in 1774, and Sir Eyre himſelf ſince (1778) into a liberality very inconſiſtent with the Company's wonted moderation, and very different from the literal interpretation of their expreſſions. And Sir Eyre was humbly prayed, by his faithful friends, to accept and receive, as a mark of their gratitude and affection, the paltry ſum of 22,800 pounds annually, out of the revenues belonging to their conſtituents, in addition to his eſtabliſhed appointments; and alſo, to conſent that the ſecond in command, Brigadier General Sibbert

Sibbert, be gratified in the receipt of near 10,000 pounds a year, over and above his legal appointments, to which he had no other claims than the profuse liberality of the dispensers of favours.

I am, &c.

LETTER

LETTER LVII.

To J—— M——, Efq; London.

Calcutta, Dec. 29, 1779.

IN my letter of the 20th September, I obferved, that about a third part of the Company's territories under the prefidency of Bengal, had grown up into woods, and become the refidence of wild beafts; the human inhabitants having been forced to abandon their native country by the unrelenting hand of European rapacity and oppreffion. I am now to give you fome account of the Rohilla war, which was the chief caufe of this melancholy event.

The extenfive, fertile, and beautiful provinces called Rohilcund, are fituated, for the moft part, between the two great rivers, Ganges and Jumna, from the boun-

dary of Corah to the confines of Agra and Delhi. They alſo occupy a large diſtrict of country on the north ſide of the Ganges, reaching eaſtward to the provinces of Oud, and northward to uninhabited mountains. The annual revenues of theſe provinces, without oppreſſion, exceeded two crores of rupees (two millions Engliſh) and their military eſtabliſhment of cavalry and infantry was about eighty thouſand: a brave and warlike race. The body of the people were compoſed of Hindoos, of ſtatures, complexions, conſtitutions, and diſpoſitions, infinitely ſuperior to thoſe of the low countries. But the fate of war ſubjected them to the abſolute dominion of a number of martial Pytan Mahommedans, under the denomination of Chiefs or Rajahs. As theſe were very numerous, ſingle chiefſhips were not powerful; but united, as branches ſprouting from the ſame ſtock, and in a common cauſe, they were always deemed formidable.

These people lived on good terms with the Emperor of Hindoſtan, to whom they bore a loyal attachment. But the proximity of their ſouthern provinces to the territories of the Marrattas, frequently expoſed them to the ravages of that warlike and predatory nation. To the depredations of the Marrattas, the misfortunes of the Rohillas are juſtly to be aſcribed: for theſe depredations furniſhed a pretext to the aſpiring ambition and reſtleſs impetuoſity of Sujah-ul-Dowla, the vizier of the empire, and Nabob of Oude, to uſurp the dominion of a country, whoſe wealth, power, and vicinity would ſerve him as ſteps by which to mount the imperial throne of Delhi. He artfully inſinuated to the Rohilla chiefs, that he was deſirous to enter into an alliance with them, and to aſſiſt againſt the Marrattas, as a common enemy; but as they were to reap the chief benefit, it was proper that a ſubſidy ſhould be paid for the ſervices which his troops were to perform on remote expeditions. Previous to this meaſure, he had cauſed

Mahomed

Mahomed Kouli Khan, the Nabob of Illiabad and Corah, to be basely assassinated when at his religious devotion; and then he usurped the dominion of his country. Thus bringing his own close home to those Rohilla provinces, which were fields of plunder and rapine to flying parties of Marrattas.

THE Rohilla chiefs, although they knew and suspected his general character, doubted not his sincerity in a measure which evidently accommodated himself; wherefore, they consented to pay Sujah-ul-Dowla forty lacks of rupees, if he would send a powerful army *immediately* to join their forces, in repelling, and driving the Marratta marauders out of their country. The Marrattas, availing themselves of the Vizier's slow movements, and of that security which the promised succours from the Vizier had created in the Rohilla chiefs, renewed their incursions and depredations with redoubled fury, and with too much success. The Company's troops under the

the command of Sir Robert Barker, on the part of the Vizier, only entered the Rohilla country for its defence, after all the miſchief that could be done had been irretrievably perpetrated. The Rohilla chiefs were, by this means, ſo reduced in their finances, that beſides mildly ſtating the non-performance of contract by Sujah-ul-Dowla, they were obliged by neceſſity to deſire a reſpite in the complete payment of the ſtipulated ſubſidy, which however they promiſed to make good by periodical inſtallments, and propoſed to ſubmit the whole matter to the arbitration of the preſidency of Fort William. As all overtures were refuſed, they at length yielded to the meaſure of paying the whole original ſpecific ſum, upon conditions ſuited to the reduced ſtate in which the late Marratta incurſions, and the Nabob's own dilatory conduct, had left their country.

THIS was the very object of the Vizier's policy; and his ambition, treachery, and brutality, give room to ſuſpect and believe, that

that he had his emiſſaries amongſt the Marrattas, to ſtimulate them to commit the late depredations, upon a promiſe from him, that his armies, notwithſtanding the treaty he had concluded with the Rohilla chiefs, ſhould not obſtruct their operations until the year following; imagining, as it happened, that the pleas of neceſſity and equity, on the part of the Rohillas, would furniſh him with pleas for inſtant hoſtility and extermination.

MATTERS were in this ſtate of ſuſpence, when Mr. Haſtings and his council reſolved on a Committee of Circuit to ſettle the revenues, adjuſt the adminiſtration of the Dewannee, and liquidate other commercial and revenue concerns in the provinces of Bengal and Bahar, and with Sujah-ul-Dowla, about the middle of the year 1773. A rupture, artfully contrived, ſeparated the members of circuit on the day of their departure from Calcutta, and it fell to the preconcerted lot of Mr. Haſtings to tune the inſtrument, and harmonize

monize the diſcordant faculties of the Vizier Sujah-ul-Dowla. The governor repaired to Benaras, the field of action, charged with diſcretionary powers in relation to matters of trade, and the adjuſtment of the ſubſidy. There were ſeveral members of council, Sir Robert Barker the commander in chief of the army, and ſeveral ſenior ſervants of the Company, either by appointment, or in ſuite, at that time in Benaras. But ſecret deeds diſlike the light; and, upon the principles of the negociation between the governor and the Vizier, it would have been impolitic and dangerous in the extreme, to have had aſſiſtants or witneſſes. Sir Robert Barker reſented the indignity offered to his military and civil ſtations in the Company's ſervice, and, as a man of probity, who ſet a proper value on the faith and honour of his nation, reprobated the treaty as unjuſt and diſhonourable. The preſence and names of theſe gentlemen were only made uſe of, to witneſs the execution and interchangeable delivery of the *public* articles

ticles of the treaty, upon the 18th September 1773. There were others of a much more intricate nature, not proper to be promulgated, reſerved for the influence which the governor's return, and improved condition, to the preſidency, could only bring to bear by his preſence in council.

By this *public* treaty, the Vizier was to be inveſted (and immediately to poſſeſs, as an eſtate in perpetuity) with the Emperor's rights to the provinces of Illiabad and Corah, which had been ſolemnly ſecured to him by ſeveral ſacred treaties in 1765, and ratified by the Company openly, and implicitly by the nation: for this bold conceſſion, he was to give the Company forty lacks of rupees, as a conſideration for a perpetual revenue of forty-five lacks; and the tribute of twenty-ſix lacks to the Emperor, from the Nabobſhip of Bengal, was, by theſe two contracting parties, declared to have been forfeited from the 28th February 1772, except two ſums

which the Vizier and Nudjiff Cawn (a colleague on this occasion) pretended to claim as a private debt from the King to them, both amounting to 92,800 l. sterling.

The first part of the *secret* treaty which transpired, confusedly, cautiously, and by piece-meal, several months thereafter, contained the barbarous and shocking tragedy, which a British commander in chief, and an army officered by British subjects, and paid by the British East India Company, were made to act, in massacring and exterminating a whole nation, distinguished in Hindostan for many superior qualifications; and putting Sujah-ul-Dowla in the full possession of their country, he paying the Company for the inhuman use of these mercenaries, the paltry pittance (in proportion to the annual revenue, and of the plunder) of fifty lacks of rupees, as a balsam to their wounded consciencies, by four annual installments.

It is impoſſible to conceive, that Mr. Haſtings could have formed ſo firm and inſuperable an attachment, or perſonal friendſhip for a prince whoſe character was univerſally obnoxious, a perfect ſtranger to him, and who had received into his boſom thoſe perſons who not long before had inhumanly and perfidiouſly butchered, in cold blood, his own colleagues, and moſt intimate friends and companions, the members of the council of Patna, and others. His ſecret motives or gratifications are ſubjects of ſuſpicion, but they are beyond the reach of legal proof. Every virtue that can dignify humanity, was ſacrificed to the ambition and ſanguinary thirſt of the moſt ſavage of his ſpecies *. The governor general engaged

* That Sujah-ul-Dowla ſhould have protected and befriended Coſſim Alli Cawn and Sombro, the murderers of Meſſrs. Hay, Ellis, Chambers, &c. will not be a matter of ſurpriſe, after the ſimple relation of the two following anecdotes, out of a hundred more.—Captain H——r, who was in the Company's ſervice, and alſo in the Vizier's, had a boat with ſome merchandize ſtopped by the reve-

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engaged deliberately in an unnatural, unprovoked, cruel war, to deſtroy an unoffending, induſtrious people, to whom the ſame mercenary arms had yielded ſuccour and friendly relief the preceding year, that were turned now againſt them. He ſacrificed the inherent rights of the Emperor to raiſe the Emperor's own ſervant and ſubject, by an act of open rebellion. He violated the ſolemn treaties upon which all the claims to trade, and the territorial

nue officers, for want of the proper permit. Without ſuſpecting any tragical conſequence, he mentioned it to the Vizier. He was awakened at midnight, and the head of the Phouzdar (chief Magiſtrate) of the diſtrict, preſented to him in a baſket: a circumſtance which ſhocked Captain H—— r to that degree, that he ſcarce recovered his ſpirits while in India.

Colonel G—— d, hunting one day in Rohilcund, ſome villagers, whoſe hogs were killed by the dogs, threw a ſtick at one of the dogs. The colonel came to Sir R. B——r's tent, where the Vizier was at breakfaſt, and accidentally mentioned this trifling circumſtance. The Vizier whiſpered to one of his attendants, and before the breakfaſt was over, the attendant returned, and informed the Vizier, that the village was deſtroyed, and man, woman, and child, put to the ſword.

revenues

revenues accorded to the Company and Britiſh nation, are founded and eſtabliſhed. He withdrew the tribute, which conſtituted the ſole legal and political conſideration for the Company's pretenſions to the Dewannee, and the rights of the Britiſh nation, without conſulting with his conſtituents, or his council, and againſt a ratified treaty; and ceded the Emperor's own provinces of Illiabad and Corah to the Emperor's own miniſter, a mere temporary officer, removeable at his pleaſure. He even, with an aſſurance and indecency ſcarcely to be equalled, avows, that the unauthorized treaty of Benaras, and the ſecret conditions which were known only to the two negociators, and not even committed to paper, were, to all intents and purpoſes, binding and obligatory on the Company; and in particular, he aſſerted, that the general tenor of the treaty implied a poſitive obligation on the Company to ſecure the Muſnud to Sujah-ul-Dowla *and his poſterity*; and the undiſturbed poſſeſſion of the Nabobſhip of

Oude, together with the countries usurped by the sacrilegious murder of Mahomed Kouli Khan, and the treaty of Benaras; although in the same breath he acknowledges, that at the time of making the concessions, he had declared to the Vizier, "That he was acting and consenting to measures against the peremptory orders of his superiors."—All these doings are of so extravagant and preposterous a nature, so much beyond the utmost extension of the Company's power, and so shameful and inglorious to the British nation, that they ought to be considered as the effects of madness, and as wholly null and void in their very nature. Nothing less than the vilest prostitution of trust, and the most consummate impudence, could have produced such a treaty, or dared to avow such a construction of it.

Mr. Hastings contrived to bring the majority of his council to approve the *public* treaty; and his subsequent equivocations and sophistry in council, concerning

ing the *secret* conditions ſtipulated between the Vizier and himſelf, in relation to the conqueſt of the Rohilla provinces, demonſtrated beyond a doubt, that he thought them of a complexion not proper for public diſquiſition.—This is pretty evident from his appointment of a reſident at the Vizier's court, where none had before been deemed neceſſary, upon his own ſpecial motion, claiming, authoritatively, an independent right to appoint and recall the propoſed reſident, of his own free will and mere motion; and that ſuch reſident ſhall be conſidered as his (the governor's) *private agent*, and correſpond *only with him.*—Mr. Haſtings's minutes and report upon this occaſion, are to the following purpoſe: " That it was my intention to convince the Vizier, that in his concerns with the Company, the immediate dependence was upon the governor alone, and to eſtabliſh a direct correſpondence between him and myſelf, without any intervention."——Could Mr. Haſtings have adopted a ſurer maxim or language, or

aſſerted a ſtronger line of influence, to obtain an Aſiatic recompence ?—He then propoſed, " To appoint a perſon for tranſacting ſuch matters of correſpondence and communication with the Vizier, as he (the governor) ſhall think proper to entruſt to his management; and he offers it frankly, as his opinion, that if the board ſhall entruſt him with the ſole nomination of ſuch a reſident, and the power of recalling him whenever he pleaſes, it may be attended with good effects, but not otherwiſe."—What conſtruction can be put on ſuch declarations, recorded on the Company's own proceedings, but that the reſult of the viſit to Sujah-ul-Dowla, had placed the author beyond the reach and power of his employers ? — The confidential inſtructions to the reſident, and the correſpondence with him and Colonel Champion, corroborate theſe ſurmiſes in pretty direct terms. By the inſtructions to Mr. Middleton, the reſident, he expreſſly " forbids any European, whether Engliſh or not, civil or military, in or out of the Company's ſervice,

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on any pretext, to viſit the Vizier, or the Rajah Cheytſing, but particularly the Vizier; not even the European officers in the Vizier's own ſervice, except the commander in chief."—As Mr. Haſtings obtained for the Rajah Cheytſing, the zemindary of the provinces of Benaras, Ghazipore, &c. *and to his poſterity*, for twenty-two and a half lacks of rupees yearly rent, it may be ſuppoſed, that the ſon and heir of the rich Rajah Bulwantſing, was alſo very liberal to his friend and benefactor; and therefore the prohibition to European viſitors was a neceſſary meaſure of prudent policy.—Mr. Haſtings having written a *private* letter to Sujah-ul-Dowla, without any communication, as uſual, through the reſident, the jealouſy or the fears of Mr. Middleton were rouſed, and he collected reſolution enough to complain with ſome bitterneſs, of the ſlight and diffidence which it implied, in a letter to Mr. Haſtings, dated the 4th June 1774; wherein he ſays, "That having

ing expreſſed his uneaſineſs to the Vizier, he was told by him, that it was only a private complimentary letter."—And Colonel Champion, in a private letter to the governor, before their quarrel, dated 30th May 1774, uſes theſe very ſuſpicious and deep-meaning expreſſions,

"Dear Sir,

"IN conſequence of what paſſed between us at parting, I have mentioned Colonel Upton's claim to the Nabob, and requeſted he would be kind enough to diſcharge it. His Excellency was very conciſe in his reply, that he had ſettled all money matters with Mr. Haſtings."

WHAT can be inferred from this, but that Mr. Haſtings had undertook to ſhut up all private claims and applications? And the reiterated ſtrenuous endeavours of Mr. Haſtings, by uncommon application, and indirect inſinuations, to prevail on Colonel Champion to diſmiſs from

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his ſervice as banyan, the very faithful and intelligent Collychurn, while upon the expedition in queſtion, betrays a dread of his diſcovering, in the courſe of buſineſs, and negociations with the army, and at Lucknow, the ſecret ſprings which led to the treaty of Benaras.

A Mr. Hall, whoſe addreſs and management had procured him a general intercourſe with the natives of condition in and about the Vizier's court and metropolis, having come down to Calcutta, ſomewhat involved in difficulties, and finding no method of being extricated, bethought him of communicating the outlines of certain pieces of private knowledge to a confidential friend of Mr. H——s; declaring, that in his preſent diſtreſs, if he was not relieved, he muſt be under the neceſſity of laying his mind open to General Clavering. It had the intended effect; his debts were forthwith paid. But Mr. Hall *wiſely* ſaid, that he muſt have future ſubſiſtence, and more money for

immediate

immediate uſe;—he received an order on Coſſimbazar for preſent ſupply, and an appointment at Futtygur, upon expreſs condition of going inſtantly, and remaining there to execute it in perſon.

Colonel Champion was appointed to the command of the Company's troops, on an expedition, near fifteen hundred miles by water conveyance up the country, againſt the Rohilla's, with peremptory orders to be directed in all his motions and actions by the Vizier Sujah-ul-Dowla, whoſe commands he was implicitly to obey on all occaſions. The Colonel put himſelf accordingly at the head of the army, and took the field, under the abſolute command of a prince, whoſe object was ſavage barbariſm and inhumanity, and who wanted manly courage to hazard, either his own perſon, his army, or even his artillery, in an action, to ſecure the ſucceſs of what he was ſo ſolicitouſly ambitious to obtain.—The fatal battle was fought upon the 23d day of April 1774, which

which iniquitoufly decided the melancholy fate of the brave, induftrious, populous, and inoffenfive Rohilla nation. In the mean time, Sujah-ul-Dowla withdrew with his army, artillery, and baggage, to a diftance of feveral miles from the field of action: Nay, he pofitively refufed to the application of Colonel Champion, a part of his cavalry in order to attack the enemy at a certain quarter, to which the numbers of the Company's troops could not extend without imminent danger to the whole; and he alfo pointedly refufed to fpare a few pieces of his artillery, to ferve in another very neceffary quarter. Thefe refufals created uneafy fufpicions in Colonel Champion's mind, of foul treachery on the part of the Vizier, in cafe the fuccefs of the day fhould favour the Rohillas, which might place the vanquifhed army between a victorious enemy and a treacherous friend. Such an idea might not be wanted to animate the Britifh General, but it might have pufhed him to a determined

refolution

resolution to conquer or fall.—The Company's brave general and their troops, unassisted, gained a decisive, but in truth, a disgraceful victory. Their artillery was so judiciously stationed and pointed, that, to the immortal honour of the brave Rohillas, it was asserted, they left four thousand men lying dead upon the field, before they retreated.

The surviving chiefs surrendered at discretion to the victorious army, and were delivered into the hands of Sujah-ul-Dowla; except Fyzulla Cawn, who, yielding up his camp and towns as plunder to the Vizier, fled to the mountainous part of his country, by which means he was able to stipulate certain conditions, though these were hard and inhuman.—The other chiefs were forced, together with their families, to submit to the most disgraceful imprisonment, and the most mortifying and humiliating treatment; their zenanas, which are sacred sanctuaries in India, even against the violences

and outrages of ſavages, were plundered, and the wives, daughters, and ſiſters of princes, were violated and abuſed. Children under puberty were ſacrificed to the luſt of an old diſtempered debauchee. Some ſhocking circumſtances have been alledged.—The plunder received into the poſſeſſion of the Vizier, has been eſtimated at a crore and a half of rupees, or one million five hundred thouſand pounds ſterling; and yet to this hour, twenty lacks ſixty thouſand ſix hundred and eight rupees, part of the ſubſidy due for this conqueſt, are yet owing to the Company, beſides ten lacks promiſed as a donation to the army, in lieu of the plunder, which he had treaſured to his own uſe.

IT is computed, that about five hundred thouſand induſtrious huſbandmen and artiſts, who were alſo, for the moſt part, able warriors, together with their families, were deliberately driven over the Jumna, to receive an aſylum from their late enemies and plunderers, the Marrattas.

rattas. — Fyzulla Cawn was obliged to condition, that he ſhould not entertain more than five thouſand perſons in his dominion. — The latter end of 1777, under the vague pretence that Fyzulla's country was flouriſhing, and becoming more populous than was ſtipulated by treaty, Mr. Middleton, as the Company's reſident at Lucknow, in concert with his friends and protectors at the preſidency; without any notification to the ſupreme board, or aſking their conſent, undertook to delegate Mr. Daniel Barwell, as an ambaſſador to the quiet, timid, Fyzulla Cawn; who, wrapt up in a garment of innocence, ſuſpected nothing leſs than a charge of violating the compact, or the preſence of an European ambaſſador to adjuſt the imaginary violation. It is ſaid, that although the allegation appeared to have been without foundation, the miniſter found the means of procuring, by way of eſcort back to Lucknow, ſeveral elephants and camels, loaded with eight to ten lacks of rupees in ſpecie. The minute of Mr. Francis,

Francis, upon the occaſion of the governor general's motion to approve the proceedings, as expedient, on the 9th March 1778, is worthy of the ſpace it occupies upon record.

HE (Mr. Francis) calls it, "One of "the groſſeſt pieces of management he "met with in India. Mr. Daniel Bar-"well quits his ſtation at Benaras with-"out leave, and goes to Lucknow with-"out leave; Mr. Middleton inſtantly "diſcovers, that Fyzulla Cawn is carry-"ing on ſome deſign prejudicial to the "intereſt of the Nabob, and that the "Nabob gives cauſe for ſuch deſigns, by "his treatment of his ſubjects; at the "ſame time, that nothing is more noto-"rious, than that the Nabob has no more "power in his own country, than he "(Mr. Francis) has. To put a ſtop to "theſe effects, which mutual jealouſies "muſt produce, a treaty muſt be made; "the guarantee of the Company muſt be "given; and Mr. Daniel Barwell finds

"himſelf very opportunely, at Lucknow, "ready to execute the commiſſion."

The Rohilla provinces are now a barren waſte, and almoſt totally deſerted by the inhabitants. The chiefs and their children are continued in the moſt miſerable ſtate of confinement, deprived of the common neceſſaries of life.

LETTER

LETTER LVIII.

To J—— M——, Efq. London.

Calcutta, Jan. 2, 1780.

ON how precarious a foundation does the Britifh empire in India ftand, when one daring individual can, at his pleafure, fubvert every principle of the Company's government, violate their moft pofitive orders and folemn inftructions, contemn their authority, and fet their power at defiance! The principles on which the Rohilla war originated, the Court of Directors unanimoufly condemned; yet, regardlefs of their moft peremptory commands, Mr. H——s plunged them into another, the confequences of which threaten the fubverfion of the whole Britifh power, together with the property and poffeffions of the Englifh Eaft India

Company in Hindoſtan. Perhaps it is too late for that Company to weigh the diſgraceful and dangerous conſequences of uniting conſtant condemnation with conſtant impunity; and of continuing men in ſtations of the higheſt truſt and dignity, whom, if we may rely on the opinion they have repeatedly expreſſed of their conduct and character, they ought to think unworthy of the loweſt.

THE territories of the Marrattas, if we except that which was lately uſurped by Hyder Ally Cawn, extend towards the ſea from Travancore, near Cape Comorin, at the ſouthern extremity of the peninſula of Hindoſtan, to the river Paddar, which diſcharges itſelf in the gulgh of Scindy, and which divides Guzzarat from the dominions of Perſia. On the eaſt, they are bounded by the Carnatic, the Company's northern Circars, and the dominions of the Nizam-ul-Muluck, the Soubah of the Deccan-Bazalet-Jung: but the province of Catac

stretches in a ~~winding~~ indirect course to the bay of Bengal.

THE Marratta states in the Deccan are the only people of Hindostan who were never effectually subdued, and who never unanimously acknowledged themselves fiefs to the throne of Delhi. The great Aurengzebe himself, unable to conquer the brave Marrattas, found it prudent, for the sake of peace, to yield to them the virtual sovereignty of the Deccan. They even carried the terror of their arms into the heart of Delhi, whence they carried off vast treasures; and they continued their depredations, first in the country around that seat of empire, and then in the kingdoms of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixa; until, in consideration of the cession of Catac, and an annual tribute of twelve lacks of rupees, they concluded a treaty of peace with Alverdi Cawn, who had usurped the soubahship of Bengal, in 1750.

Their natural faſtneſſes and inacceſſible mountains, which conſpired with their native bravery to preſerve the Marrattas from the Mogul yoke, account for their predatory habits, their neglect of agriculture, and invincible love of arms. Among this race of warriors, and among them only, that generous hoſpitality both towards ſtrangers and each other, which in former times ſo eminently characterized the manners of the Eaſt, is ſtill obſerved with ſacred and even ſuperſtitious exactneſs.

The Marrattas, like the other nations of Hindoſtan, were originally governed by princes, diſtinguiſhed by the title of *Sou*, or Ram-rajah *, whoſe throne was eſtabliſhed at Setterrah. United under this

* There were among the Hindoos other titles of ſovereignty; as, Ranah, Rajah, &c. Subordinate characters were known by the names of Paiſhwa, Surdar, Zemindar, Polygar, &c.—The titles of Vizier, Soubah, Nizam, Nabob, Omrah, &c. were introduced by Mahomedans.

head, they were always powerful and invincible; but in procefs of time, each fubordinate chief affuming the prerogatives of an independent prince, and one link of that chain which united them, being broken, they were feparated into a number of petty ftates; yet they ftill continued to yield a kind of tacit allegiance to the Ram-rajah, who had a power of affembling the chiefs, and ordering out their troops as often as any public caufe required their fervice.

THE Marratta revenues were originally very great. Before the ufurpations of Hyder Ally Cawn, in the kingdom of Myfore and around it, they amounted to about feventeen millions of Britifh pounds. It is computed, that their annual revenue is equal ftill to twelve millions.

THEIR military eftablifhment, which is compofed of cavalry, is yet about three hundred thoufand: but thefe are not to be confidered as regulars, or permanent

troops, but as an eſtabliſhed militia. In judging of the Marratta force, we are alſo to obſerve, that it is an invariable cuſtom among the troops, when an expedition is concluded, to retire with what plunder they may have ſeized to their reſpective abodes, leaving with the chiefs only what may be called their body-guards.

THE Sou, or Ram-rajah, exiſts now but in name. Nana-row, brother of the preſent Roganaut-row, commonly called Ragoba, ſeized at the ſame inſtant the reins of government and the perſon of the Ram-rajah: a revolution which was favoured by the Bramin caſt of the uſurper. The government he adminiſtered, under the title of Paiſhwa, or prime miniſter, and the prince he confined in a fortreſs near the metropolis *Setterah*. In this poſition, the preſent young Ram-rajah and the government of the Marratta ſtate continue to this day.

NANA-

NANA-ROW dying, left behind him two ſons, Mada-row and Narain-row; the firſt of whom, being the eldeſt, ſucceeded him in the uſurped office of Paiſhwa. Ionogee-Booſla, or Bouncello, the father or immediate predeceſſor of Moodage-Booſla, Rajah of Berar, was one of the pretenders to the throne of Setterah, as neareſt of kin to the confined Ram-rajah; at the ſame time Roganaut-row was a pretender to the office of prime miniſter, even during the life-time of his nephew, for which Mada-row kept him under confinement.

BUT the Paiſhwa feeling in himſelf the ſymptoms of decay, and foreſeeing his approaching diſſolution, was moved with fraternal tenderneſs towards Narain-row, his young brother and lineal ſucceſſor; whoſe youth and inexperience expoſed him to the machinations of his crafty and intriguing uncle, though in priſon.

Had Madá-row, on this occaſion, obſerved the cruel policy of the eaſt, he might by a hint or a nod have removed the cauſe of all his fears concerning his brother; but he was a man of a humane diſpoſition, and his mind was purged from all dark ideas of poiſon or aſſaſſination by the near approach of death. Divided between humanity towards his uncle, and affection for his brother, he embraced the generous reſolution of effecting a reconciliation between the objects of his tenderneſs and his compaſſion. He cauſed Roganaut-row to be releaſed; and, having made ſuch arrangements as he thought the moſt likely to remove all uneaſineſs or diſſatisfaction from the minds of both parties, he placed the hands of the youth into thoſe of his uncle, and, ſhedding tears of joy, tenderly embraced them: "I intruſt," ſaid he, "the young man to your care: I recommend him to your protection. Give him your advice in the adminiſtration of government; guard him from the ſnares and plots of his enemies.

He never adviſed your confinement: he was always an advocate for your enlargement: let all remembrance of former grievances on either ſide, die with me." The young man, it is ſaid, and even Roganaut-row, on this occaſion, diſſolved in tears. But how fallacious are all momentary impreſſions on the heart, when the mind is not fortified by any principle of virtue! Ragoba promiſed to conſider Narain-row as his own child; but this promiſe he kept no longer than he could procure aſſaſſins to cut him in pieces.

MADA-ROW died in November 1772; and Narain-row was allowed to live until the September following, when he was in the twenty-third year of his age. But concerning the cauſe and circumſtances of this young man's death, you will not be diſpleaſed if I am ſomewhat more particular.

GOPINCABOW, the mother of Madah and Narain-row, had diſguſted her eldeſt

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ſon by a diſſolute and vicious life; in conſequence of which, ſhe withdrew to Benaras, in the dominion of Oude, then hoſtile to the Marratta government, and at a vaſt diſtance from Poonah. Juſt before his death, Madah-row expreſſed a deſire to ſee her, which ſhe refuſed with contempt; therefore, dreading her influence over the unformed mind of his brother Narain-row, he earneſtly cautioned him to beware of her artful councils. Some circumſtances having appeared in the conduct of Roganaut-row, creating ſuſpicions of a foul deſign upon his nephew, the rumour thereof reached Benaras, whence Gopincabow wrote to her ſon, cautioning him againſt the arts of his uncle, and even recommending to confine him again, as his brother Madah-row had found it neceſſary to do for his own ſecurity. This letter in its way fell into the hands of Roganaut-row's adopted ſon, then under the care of Moodajee Booſla, in Berar, which he conveyed to his father in Poonah. Roganaut-row inſtantly determined to ſecure his own

own freedom, and the Paishwaship without a competitor, by one blow; as neither of the brothers had children, nor was it then known that the wife of Narain-row was pregnant. Two Soubadars of the Durbar guard he made choice of for the accomplishment of his purpose. Simmer-sing and Mahomet Issouff were consulted; who, after some consideration, engaged, for two lacks of rupees, and two strong forts for their future protection, to perform the horrid deed. An occasion offered to attach a third to their plot. Tulajee, a favourite servant, had been raised by Narain-row to the command of a troop of horse near his own person. That young man having committed an act of violence on a Soubadar of rank and condition, upon complaint thereof, Narain found it necessary to degrade and confine the favourite: however, upon application, he was not only released, but restored to rank and favour; but the disgrace sunk into his spirit, and he secretly menaced revenge. The conspirators associated

ciated him in their deſign, and fixed the day, place, and manner of carrying it into execution. On the 18th of Auguſt 1773, after the Paiſhwa had withdrawn to his retirement as uſual in the evening, he was alarmed by an uproar and information that a body of armed men were forcing into the apartments. He inſtantly ſuſpected that his uncle meditated his death; and he flew into the apartment and arms of Roganaut-row, imploring him to take the government and ſpare his life. Ragoba was melted for a moment, and he ſpoke to the Soubadars: but the matter had gone too far to be receded from with ſecurity. Tulajee ſeized Narain-row's legs, and a ſepoy diſengaged his arms which embraced his uncle. Tulajee ſtruck the firſt blow, which was followed by Simmer-ſing and Mahomet Iſſouff.

LETTER

LETTER LIX.

To J—— M——, Efq. London.

Calcutta, Jan. 5, 1780.

THE death of Narain-row was generally lamented, and the unnatural manner in which it was brought about, univerfally execrated by all the people. A powerful oppofition was formed, to the fucceffion of Ragoba to the office after which he afpired. The parricide was forced to flee from his country, indignant at his crimes: but he found protection in the ifland of Bombay, in confideration of a promife of the moft flattering conceffions, which however he had as little the power as the right to perform. The afylum thus granted to Roganaut-row, incenfed the Marrattas on the one hand; while, on the other, it amufed the Englifh with a profpect,

prospect, not only of valuable territorial concessions, but of the usual spoils which Indian revolutions present to the views of successful European allies.

Hostilities having quickly commenced, the marine of Bombay sustained, with the bravery of British seamen, the troops, in the reduction of the island of Salsette, which was effected not without considerable loss to the assailants; while that of Baroach cost the life of General Wedderburn, one of the best and bravest officers that belonged either to the Company's service or the British army. The Company felt his loss soon thereafter, in the defeat of the Bombay army under Colonel Keating. Happily, however, by means of the established enmity between the Marrattas and Hyder-Ally Cawn; of jealousies and secret enmities between the principal and lesser states; and of divisions in the council of Poonah, the Marratta government was inclined to preserve the friendship of the Company in preference

— a very unfit man to have been intrusted with it

to all other connections: a difpofition in which they would have continued, if the Englifh had not afforded fupport to the unjuft pretenfions of a parricide.

SUCH was the fituation of the Company with regard to the Marratta ftate, when the new government, compofed of Mr. Haftings, General Clavering, Colonel Monfon, Mr. Barwell, and Mr. Francis, commenced in October 1774. The newly-arrived members, General Clavering, Colonel Monfon, and Mr. Francis, entered on the duty affigned to them by the Company, and by their country, with alacrity: the fole object of their views being, to recover the affairs of their employers from confufion, debt, and difcredit. Thefe gentlemen, forming a majority in the fupreme council, availed themfelves of that fuperiority which the act of parliament gave them, in certain cafes, over the other prefidencies, and fent Colonel Upton to negotiate with the Marratta court an honourable peace: which was at length

concluded and ratified, on the firft of March 1776. This peace is known by the title of the Poorunder Treaty, and fometimes by that of the Treaty of Poonah.

By this treaty, Salfette, Baroach, and other diftricts in the Guzzerat provinces, were ceded to the Company: they were to be paid twelve lacks of rupees at three fixed terms, to defray the charges of the war; as a fecurity for which they got poffeffion of feveral pergunnahs in mortgage; and an extent of territory of the annual value of three lacks, adjoining or near to Baroach.

On the other hand, it was ftipulated, that Roganaut-row fhould be provided for according to his rank, in a private line, and withdraw immediately from Bombay; and that no protection or affiftance fhould be given to him, or any other fubject or fervant of the Marratta ftate who might excite any difturbance or rebellion in that country.

THIS treaty was confirmed by the Court of Directors; who ordered a ſtrict adherence to it in the ſtrongeſt terms. They recommended ſpecial vigilance over the conduct of Ragoba, during the time he ſhould remain at Bombay, that he might form no plans againſt what is called the miniſterial party at Poonah: and poſitively commanded, that no intervention or ſcheme in his favour ſhould be entered into, without the previous conſent of the ſupreme council or Court of Directors. At the ſame time they admitted, that common humanity warranted the protection of Ragoba's perſon from violence.

IN the mean time Roganaut-row, under the protection of the government of Bombay, entered into new intrigues, and fomented diſſentions in the adminiſtration of Poonah *.

UNFORTUNATELY for the happineſs of mankind, the will almoſt perpetually in-

* The ſeat of the Marratta government.

fluences the judgment, and we too eaſily believe what we wiſh to be true. The hiſtory of all nations proves, that exiled pretenders to ſovereignty are convinced, on the ſlighteſt grounds, that the body of the people is devoted to their intereſt, and ready in their cauſe to take up arms. In the year 1715, the Pretender, with his adherents who attended him in France, were perſuaded, that nineteen perſons in Britain out of twenty, were what they called loyal ſubjects. The ſame language was held in the years preceding the famous 1745: and it is impoſſible to convince the Britiſh government, that the loyaliſts are not by far the greateſt party in North America. A ſimilar deception was the immediate cauſe of the Marratta war. *Ragoba*, deceived in all probability himſelf, by means of his partizans among the Maratta chiefs, beguiled the eaſy credulity of Mr. Moſtyn reſident from Bombay at the court of Poonah, into a belief, that a moſt powerful party was formed in favour of Roganaut-row, who were ready to advance

advance him by force of arms to the ſupreme adminiſtration of government. This piece of intelligence was received with avidity, and credited without any heſitation by majorities in the preſidencies both of Bombay and Calcutta. Having determined to reinſtate Ragoba on the Poonah throne, they fortify their reſolution with new arguments. The Marrattas, they aſſerted, had given countenance to agents from Auſtria and France. If report could be believed, formal engagements had paſſed between them and M. St. Lubin, as agent to the crown of France, the object of which, whatever it was, muſt, if attained, prove deſtructive to the trade of the Engliſh Company, and to the Britiſh influence in India. Accordingly it was neceſſary, by a ſudden and deciſive blow, and particularly by ſeizing the ~~Iſland~~ Promontory of Baſſeen, to curb and reduce the Marratta power, before it ſhould be encreaſed by the acceſſion of that of France. They flattered themſelves with the greater aſſurance of ſucceſs in favour of Ragoba, as they ex-

pected assistance from Hyder Ally Cawn, who professed a friendship for his party. Thus the object of this projected war, was, to place at the head of the Marratta government, a man whose hands were dyed with the blood of his own kindred; whose treachery had rendered him an object of execration over all Asia; and who was withal the avowed friend and partizan of Hyder Ally Cawn, an aspiring usurper, whose enmity to the English and their allies, was as firmly rooted as his hatred of the Marrattas.

apparent

THE circumstances then that incited or encouraged the governor general of Bengal to commence a war with the Marrattas, were chiefly three. There was, as he conceived, a powerful party at the court of Poonah, determined to hazard their lives in support of Ragoba; a majority of the Marratta chiefs had entered, or were on the point of entering, into a treaty of alliance with France; and Hyder Ally Cawn would not fail to join the

 English

Engliſh in ſupport of his friend Ragoba, againſt his inveterate enemies.—How unfortunate was the governor, both in his ſecret intelligence and his conjectures! In all theſe points he was deceived. While Mr. Haſtings was haranguing at Calcutta, on the power and zeal of the partizans of Ragoba, the few adherents he had were pining in confinement at Poonah. There was not a man in the civil or military adminiſtration of the Marratta government, either in thought or in action, ready to eſpouſe the cauſe of Roganaut-row. On the contrary, the whole body of the people in every ſtation, ſeemed unanimous in their reſolution to oppoſe him, and the plan he had adopted. The Marratta government ſhewed at firſt every poſſible diſpoſition to preſerve the friendſhip, and to maintain an alliance with the Engliſh: and if they entered into any negociations with the French at laſt, we may eaſily trace them to their proper ſource in the protection that was afforded to Roganaut-row, in violation of a ſolemn treaty, and

his intrigues at Bombay. The Marrattas, unwilling to irritate the Engliſh, entered into no treaty whatever with the French; but on the contrary, diſmiſſed M. St. Lubin from Poonah, where he had had partizans. This agent of France went therefore to Hyder Ally, who had, before this repulſe of St. Lubin at Poonah, reſented the offers he had made to the Marrattas. The rejection of theſe offers by the Marratta government, facilitated a treaty between St. Lubin and Hyder, and procured for the French the ceſſion of Mangalore,

The pacific diſpoſition of the Marratta court, and their refuſal to treat effectually with St. Lubin, will appear from the following paſſage, in a letter from the governor general's friend, the Rajah of Berar: "I formerly intimated in my letters to Calcutta, the purport of what the Poonah miniſters wrote to me; that they neither had nor would have, any friendſhip or connection with the French nation; and that the French agent came to Poonah,

ſolely

ſolely for the purpoſes of trade; and that out of friendſhip to the Engliſh, they had ſent him away; that I ſhould therefore write to the Nabob Amand-ul-Dowla (meaning the governor general) to be perfectly ſatisfied with reſpect to them, they being ſteady to their engagements."

SUCH being the ſtate of affairs at Poonah and Mangalore, the ſimple exerciſe of juſtice and fidelity to engagements, would have detached the Marratta chiefs more and more from France and from Hyder Ally, and united them in a cloſe connection and friendſhip with the Engliſh. But a breach of public faith, and an inſatiable thirſt for power and unbounded dominion, ſo apparent in every meaſure of the Company's ſervants, united the diſcordant Marratta ſtates, and jarring members in the adminiſtration of Poonah, Hyder Ally Cawn, the Soubah of the Decan, the Rajah of Berar, Nudjiff-Cawn, and all the leſſer powers of India into a cloſe aſſociation for the purpoſe of reſiſting the extravagant pretenſions

pretenſions and views of the Company's adminiſtration in Aſia, and even reducing their power. Impelled by the ſame motives, they diſcovered inclinations to hearken to the overtures of France, looking with wiſhful impatience for the day of deliverance from the iron hand of oppreſſion.

LETTER LX.

To J—— M——, Efq; London.

Calcutta, Jan. 10, 1780.

ON the 22d November 1778, an army, amounting to 3910 men, officers included, moved from Bombay, with an immoderate quantity of baggage, and a train of nineteen thoufand cattle, to place Roganaut-row at the head of the adminiftration of Poonah. The conduct of this expedition was entrufted to a committee, confifting of Colonel Egerton, Mr. Carnac, and Mr. Moftyn. Thus the commander in chief was circumfcribed in his defigns and operations by the appointment of field deputies: a meafure, the bad effects of which have been conftantly fhewn by experience. Debate and execution are in their nature incompatible. The fuccefs of military

military operations depends very much upon unity of command, without which there can neither be decifion nor timely execution. This maxim of war was not contradicted by any fuccefs attending the prefent expedition. The army had not got within two days march of Poonah, after having been about fifty days in their progrefs without any hoftile obftruction, before they were totally defeated, and reduced, by the neceffity of offering a *carte blanche* to the enemy, to the moft difgraceful humiliation. After a few days fkirmifhing, they capitulated at Wargaum, on the 16th of January 1779. This mortifying intelligence was received at Calcutta in the month of February, in a literal tranflation of a letter to the Nabob of Arcot, from his Vakeel at the court of Poonah. Of this letter I fend you a copy. It will exhibit a new inftance of the perfidy of Roganaut-row; the folly of placing confidence in a treacherous character, and of allowing Ragoba to move with a feparate camp; and the

9 generofity,

generoſity, moderation, and good ſenſe of the Marrattas.

Intelligence from Poonah, *contained in a Letter from* Row Gee, *dated* 18*th of* January 1779, *to the Nabob of* Arcot.

1. I have addreſſed to your Highneſs ſeveral letters of late, ſome of which I hope are arrived: I have accounts of others having been intercepted on the road, and ſhall therefore recapitulate ſome of the moſt important tranſactions here.

2. THE Engliſh Surdars *, as I have already wrote to your Highneſs, marched from Bombay to the paſſes, and fortified that of Kodtichully. Roganaut-row took poſſeſſion of two forts which were in the road, and joined the Engliſh army, which I hear conſiſted of 700 Europeans, 8 battalions of Sepoys, 40 pieces of cannon, mortars, and a quantity of powder and

* Or Chiefs.

military

military ſtores; they had beſides four lacks of rupees in money.

3. Siccaram Pundit, and Nana Furneſe, two Marratta Surdars, joined their forces, and ſatisfied the diſcontented chiefs Schindiah and Holkar, by giving them money, jaghires, and other preſents.

4. All the chiefs having met to conſult what was to be done in the preſent ſtate of affairs, they all with one voice agreed, that if Roganaut-row came with his own forces alone, they ſhould receive him, and give him a ſhare of the power as formerly; but ſince he came with an army of Engliſh, who were of a different nation from them, and whoſe conduct in Sujah Dowla's country, the Rohilla country, Bengal, and the Carnatic, they were well acquainted with, they unanimouſly determined not to receive Roganaut-row; as otherwiſe, in the end, they would be obliged to forſake their religion, and become the ſlaves of Europeans. Upon this

they

they exchanged oaths; and Nehum Row, Apagee Pundit, and Scindiah, were ſent with an army of 15,000 horſe, beſides foot, to the Gaut of Tulicanoon, and were followed immediately after by Siccaram Pundit and Nana Furneze, with 40,000 horſe.

5. IT has been for ſome time the fixed determination of the Engliſh Surdars to give their aſſiſtance to Roganaut-row, in replacing him at the head of the government; an army was ſent from Calcutta, who made an alliance with Booſla, (Rajah of Berar) and they were greatly encouraged by the news of the ſurrender of Pondicherry.

6. MR. MOSTYN, who went from Poonah, made them believe, that many of the Marratta Surdars were in their intereſt, and that as ſoon as their army ſhould arrive at the Gaut, Holkar would join them with all his forces.

7. THE

7. The Englifh, trufting to this, marched their army to the Gaut, and waited impatiently for a whole month, but no one appeared to join their ftandard. The Englifh army marched forward from the Gaut, and were fo much harraffed by the Marrattas, as not to be able to proceed more than two cofs* a day, during which time they loft a great many of their men by the fire kept upon them by the Marrattas. When they came to Chockly, which is about fourteen cofs from the pafs, they were obliged to halt; Captain Stewart, one of their Surdars, was killed at this place.

On the 21ft January, the European army arrived at Tulicanoon (feventeen cofs from the pafs;) Mr. Carnac, fecond of Bombay, was with them. Siccaram fent a body of horfe to Tulicanoon, to harrafs them; twenty-five Europeans, amongft whom was an officer, and one hundred fepoys, were killed on the firft day; the Marrattas had two hundred men killed.

* Two cofs is five Englifh miles.

9. On

9. ON the 2d day, the Engliſh were ſurrounded on all ſides by the Marrattas, and all ſupplies of proviſions cut off from them. Seeing themſelves in this ſituation, they determined, if poſſible, to return back by the Gaut, and conſulted upon the means to effect it. Roganaut-row hearing this, ſent privately to the Marratta chief, Schindiah, telling him, that if he would attack the Engliſh, he would join him with his two battalions of Sepoys, and 600 horſe. The Engliſh, it would appear, had intelligence of this; for, on the 13th of January, they ſuddenly marched ſecretly from Tulicanoon, taking Roganaut-row with them, and leaving their baggage and tents ſtanding, under the protection of 200 Europeans, and one battalion of Sepoys, with eight pieces of cannon, to make the Marrattas believe that their whole force was at Tulicanoon. —Siccaram, however, got private intelligence of their retreat; and, with Nana Furneze, Schindiah, and Holkar, went to cut off their march. At the ſame

 time

time he ſent a body of horſe to Tulicanoon, where the reſt of the Engliſh were encamped. The Marrattas, as uſual, fell upon the plunder, and a ſmart engagement enſued between them and the Engliſh. The detachment, who had marched with Roganaut-row, but had not proceeded far, returned to the aſſiſtance of thoſe in their camp. A heavy cannonade was kept up by the Marrattas from midnight till four o'clock the next day; the Engliſh were not able to march one foot of way, and all their firing took no effect; one hundred and fifty Europeans, with many of their officers, and eight hundred Sepoys, were killed. The Marrattas ſurrounded them, and kept patroles going all night, to prevent any from eſcaping. On the 14th, the Marrattas commenced their cannonading again, fifty Europeans and four hundred Sepoys were killed. The Engliſh ceaſed firing, ſeeing that it had no effect. In the evening of that day, the ſervant of Roganaut-row, and that of Mr. Carnac, brought a leter to Madah

Row,

Row, acquainting him, that they would ſend a truſty perſon to confer with him upon ſome matters, if leave was given. The Surdars read the letter, and ſent an anſwer by the ſame perſon, that they were willing to ceaſe hoſtilities, until a perſon was ſent. They, however, took care to keep a ſtrict patrole round the Engliſh camp all night. On the 15th, the Marratta Surdars went to the trenches, and began firing again; but it was not anſwered from the Engliſh camp. Soon after, Mr. Farmer (a gentleman who was ſome time ago at your Highneſs's court) came from the Engliſh camp, and the fire of the Marrattas immediately ceaſed. The Marattas ſent for him into the preſence, and Mr. Farmer ſaid to them, "We are only merchants.—When diſputes prevailed with you, Roganaut-row came to us, and demanded our protection. We thought he had a right to the government, and gave him our aſſiſtance. Nothing but ill fortune attends him, and we have been

brought to this miserable state, by keeping him with us. You are masters to keep him from us. We shall henceforth adhere to the treaties that have formerly taken place between us. Be pleased to forgive what has happened."

The minister answered, "Roganautrow is one of us. What right could you have to interfere in our concerns with him? We now desire you to give up Salsette and Bassin, and what other countries you have possessed yourselves of; as also the Circars, those of the Purgunnahs of Baroch, &c. which you have taken in Guzzarat. Adhere to the treaty made in the time of Bajalee Row, and ask nothing else."—Mr. Farmer heard this answer, and returned to his camp. While this negociation was carrying on, 15,000 Marratta horse were sent against some out-posts where the English had entrenched themselves, and set fire to them, putting every one they met with to death. They did the same at the fort

of

of Choul, where the Englifh had fortified. I heard all this from Nana Furneze; whether it be true or falfe, I am not certain.

ON the 6th at noon, Mr. Farmer returned, and told Schindiah that he had brought a blank paper, figned and fealed, which the Marratta chiefs might fill up as they pleafed. Schindiah told the minifters, that although they had it in their power to make any demands they pleafed, it would not be advifeable to do it at this time. "For our making large demands, would only fow refentment in their hearts, and we had better demand only what is neceffary. Let Roganaut-row be with us, and the treaty between us and the Englifh will be adhered to. Let Salfette and the Purgunnah in Guzzarats, &c. be given back to us. Let the Bengal army return back. For the reft, let us act with them, as it is ftipulated in the treaty with Bajalee Row; let the jewels mortgaged by Ro-

ganaut-row be reſtored, and nothing demanded for them. Let all theſe articles be wrote out on the paper which they have ſent." Which was accordingly done. "It is likewiſe conditioned, that till this treaty is returned, ſigned and ſealed by the governor of the Council and Select Committee, under the Company's ſeal, and till Salſette and the other countries be given up, the nephew of Captain Stewart and Mr. Farmer ſhall remain in the Marratta camp as hoſtages for the due performance of the articles of this treaty."

THE Engliſh ſoldiers who have eſcaped with their lives, faſted for three days, and are now in a miſerable condition. The Europeans and Sepoys have all grounded their arms.—On the 17th the treaty was ſent to the Marratta camp. The articles were written in Perſian, Marratta, and Engliſh, ſealed with the Company's ſeal, and ſigned by Mr. Carnac and ſeven officers. After this the Marratta Surdars ſent them

them victuals, which they needed much. The English marched out, *escorted by* 2000 *Marratta horse*; but Roganaut-row, not finding a lucky hour, did not go to the Marratta camp, but will go after twelve o'clock to-morrow."

LETTER LXI.

To J—— M——, Efq; London.

Calcutta, Jan. 14, 1780.

IN my laft I laid before you ftriking proofs of the moderation and good fenfe of the Marratta regency, on an occafion the moft tempting that could be imagined to revenge and ambition. I wifh now to imprefs the ideas that thofe proofs have made on your mind, by two letters from Siccaram Pundit, minifter of the Marratta fovereignty, to Mr. Haftings, in his capacity of governor general.—There are many who write letters to extenuate the crimes and difplay the virtues of the Company's leading fervants: let me do juftice to thofe whom they have chofen to make their enemies.

Copy

Copy of a letter from SICCARAM PUNDIT, *Prime-minifter of the Poonah Government, to Governor General* HASTINGS. — *Received in Bengal the 7th of December* 1778.

" AT the time when fome of the Company's chiefs were engaged in difputes and hoftilities with the chiefs of this government, actuated by a wifh to promote the good and happinefs of mankind in general, which fuffered by thofe troubles, you interpofed your friendly mediation to remove the caufes of complaint, and to put a ftop to them; and deputed Colonel Upton for this purpofe, to the prefence of my mafter Scriminuft Row, Row Pundit Pinkham, Pifhaw Saib.

" AT the time of the ratification of peace, I objected to there being no perfon of rank and credit prefent on the part of the governor of Bombay; to which the Colonel made anfwer, " That the governor and fupreme council of Calcutta were invefted with

with authority over all ſettlements of the Engliſh Company, and that their acts were binding on the chiefs of all the Engliſh ſettlements." On the faith of this declaration, I made peace between this government and the Company's chiefs, and concluded a treaty; but the governor of Bombay has, in every inſtance of his conduct ſince, excited troubles and commotions, in violation of the ties of friendſhip; and notwithſtanding your expreſs orders to expel Roganaut-row from the Company's dominions, and to ſettle all points between the two ſtates, in conformity to the treaty, he has performed nothing thereof. And an envoy from the king of France arriving here with a letter, intereſted perſons, and inventors of falſehoods, conceiving this a lucky opportunity to obtain credit to their lying reports, without examination or reflection, repreſented it in the manner beſt calculated to anſwer their malicious purpoſes.

"I CALL

"I CALL God to witneſs, that out of regard to the friendſhip and alliance of the Company and the Engliſh chiefs, I diſmiſſed the ſaid envoy, without negociating, or even converſing with him.—I have lately heard, that ſome of your people have hoſtilely poſſeſſed themſelves of the fort of Calpee, which belongs to this government. This meaſure is widely removed from the faith of the ſolemn treaty executed by the Engliſh.

"WHEN the governor of Bombay, in former times, put on the maſk of friendſhip for the purpoſes of deceit, and aided the enemies of this government; regarding you, Sir, as ſuperior to all other chiefs, I made peace and friendſhip with you; and theſe are the fruits produced by this friendſhip.

"YOU write, that the maintaining of friendſhip and ſtrict union between our reſpective ſtates, is your reſolve. Is it in effect for the preſervation of friendſhip that

that you trouble the dominions of this government? Such a mode of conduct is inconfiftent with the maxims and meafures of high and illuftrious chiefs.—It is mutually incumbent on us to preferve inviolate the terms of the treaty. Should any deviation arife therein, they are effects of the will and difpenfation of God."

From the fame.——Received in Calcutta the 12*th December* 1778.

"I HAVE been favoured with your letter under date the 22d Tremadee Affamee (17th July) on the fubject of the prefervation and increafe of the friendfhip between the two ftates; and intimating that it is your firft refolve to maintain every article of the treaty, fo long as it is adhered to by the Paifhwa; that the troops have been fent folely for the reinforcement of the fettlement of Bombay; and that the commanding officer had ftrict injunctions to obferve fuch a conduct in every refpect, as is confiftent with the friendfhip fubfifting;

ing; that the ſeveral letters you have lately received from this quarter, meaning from me, contain a declaration to maintain the treaty of friendſhip between us; yet that my having hitherto evaded to grant paſſes for the march of the troops through the government dominions, cauſes you great aſtoniſhment. That if I ſtill refuſe to comply therewith, you are remedileſs, and the blame will fall on me. This letter, containing the above, and other particulars, which I ſhall notice before I conclude, reached me on the 4th of Shabann (28th Auguſt) and afforded me great pleaſure.

"IT is univerſally allowed, that there is nothing in the world more excellent than friendſhip and harmony, which are bleſſings to mankind in general. The maintenance of every article of the treaty, is equally incumbent on both parties.—It is not ſtipulated in any article of the treaty, that either party may ſend forces through dominions of the other, without conſulting

consulting him beforehand, and cause trouble and distress to the people.—To what rule of friendship can be attributed the stationing of garrisons in the forts, and making collections in the country of the other party.—*What has happened, is then agreeable to English faith.* In proof of this assertion, be it observed, that Colonel Leslie, the commanding officer of the detachment, has kept with him Roganautrow's Vakeel, and, in conjunction with him, collects money from the dominions of the government, by intimidating its subjects.—This being the case, what becomes of your assurances before recited, that the treaty should be scrupulously adhered to on your parts, so long as it was maintained by my master? or what degree of credit can be given thereto?

"From time immemorial, no forces of the maritime European nations have marched by land through the dominions of the government; but the route of all the trading and European nations has been by

by the ocean. Nor is it ſtipulated in the treaty, that the Engliſh detachments ſhall have a paſſage through the government territories. Reflect maturely on this, and then determine, on whoſe ſide the blame reſts. — That ſuch unlooked-for acts ſhould proceed from you, is a matter of the higheſt aſtoniſhment; to think that mighty and powerful chiefs ſhould act in direct oppoſition to the faith of their engagements.—You are pleaſed to write, that if the preſidency of Bombay ſhall ſtill continue to require the troops, you can in no caſe agree to recall them. — The matter is briefly thus:—The king of England, and the Engliſh Company, have placed confidence in the ſupreme council of Calcutta, and inveſted it with authority over all the other ſettlements. The acts of the council of Calcutta are binding on the government of all the Company's ſettlements. Having given this aſſurance, he propoſed the form of a treaty, ſuch as the critical ſituation of the times rendered neceſſary.—You tranſmitted a treaty con-

formably thereto, under the ſeal of the Engliſh Company.—It was from the beginning, the earneſt wiſh of the government of Bombay, that no friendly connection ſhould be eſtabliſhed between the two ſtates, and they have been, ever ſince, ſtriving to overſet it. And notwithſtanding the concluſion of the treaty, they kept Ragoba, with them. How then was it to be expected, that they ſhould recall their troops, which were diſturbing the peace of the government's dominions? It even appears, to a conviction, that they perſuaded Ragoba to the meaſures he has purſued. How then does the ſupreme authority of the council of Calcutta from the king of England, appear, ſince the chiefs of the different ſettlements do not regard engagements made by you as binding on them, but make no ſcruple to break them: and you, Sir, paying no regard to your own acts, take your meaſures on the repreſentations of the government of Bombay. This is indeed aſtoniſhing to the higheſt degree!

"IT

"IT is the dictate of found policy, that you withdraw your troops to your own territory. This will be a convincing proof of the fincerity of your friendfhip, and will fpread the fame of your good faith throughout the univerfe.

"FROM the commencement of the government of the family of the Paifhwa, they have entered into treaties with many of the chiefs of the eaft and weft, and have never before experienced fuch a want of faith from any one; nor ever, to the prefent time, deviated from their engagements, or been wanting to the duties of friendfhip and alliance: the blame refts with you."

LETTER LXII.

To J—— M——, Esq. London.

Calcutta, Jan. 18, 1780.

WHILE one army was marching from Bombay, to place Ragoba at the head of the administration of Poonah, another was moving from Bengal, to raise to the same distinguished station Moodajee-Boosla, Rajah of Berar. You start at this, as being incredible; nevertheless, it is a fact, as you will be convinced by the following narrative.

On the 23d of February, Mr. Hastings presented a letter from Bombay, representing the favourable circumstances at the court of Poonah, and other particulars, tending to induce the English to support

port the pretenſions of Roganaut-row to the office of Paiſhwa. On this letter he founded a motion to march a detachment over land to ſupport the army of Bombay. The governor's double vote, together with that of Mr. Barwell, having over-ruled the ſingle votes of their opponents, it was reſolved, that for this purpoſe a detachment ſhould be ſent under the command of Colonel Matthew Leſlie, conſiſting of one hundred and three officers, ſix thouſand ſix hundred and twenty-four troops, nineteen thouſand ſeven hundred and twenty-nine ſervants, and twelve thouſand buzars or market-people. An army only of ſix thouſand ſeven hundred and twenty-ſeven troops, and a ſuit of thirty-one thouſand ſeven hundred and twenty-nine ſervants and ſutlers, was ordered to traverſe an unexplored country of immenſe extent *, abounding in faſtneſſes, interſected by defiles and navigable rives, and inhabited by a war-

* Fifteen hundred miles.

like and hoſtile people. This detachment began their march in the month of May.

It was now the wet ſeaſon, and torrents of rain overflowed the country, deſtroying the roads, and making even ſmall rivers and brooks impaſſable. The effect of the heat was fatally experienced by the troops and their numerous attendants, on the firſt day's march from Calpee: for either through the ignorance of their conductors, or the obſtinacy of the commander, they moved out of the right courſe; and through fatigue and want of water, between three and four hundred perſons died raving mad. Captain Crawfurd, one of the beſt men and braveſt officers in India, died in that ſtate, of two hours illneſs. Colonel Parker, Major Fullarton, Captain Aſh, Captain Showers, and about ten ſubalterns, happily recovered from dangerous illneſſes.

THE

THE army having croſſed the Jumna, notwithſtanding the fierce oppoſition of the Marratta ſtates adjoining to that river, and proceeded into the very heart of an hoſtile country, its recall from which would be conſtrued into a diſgraceful retreat, the governor general did not think it neceſſary any longer to diſguiſe his real object in this expedition. The ſame army, which originally was deſtined to ſupport the pretenſions of Ragoba, is now to be made the inſtrument of placing Moodajee-Booſla at the head of the Marratta empire, as well in oppoſition to Roganaut-row, as his adverſaries; and the Company is to join with that prince in invading the dominions of their own ally, the Nizam of the Deccan. And yet Mr. Haſtings, in the month of December laſt, declared, that this Moodajee-Booſla, who was then dangerouſly ill, and expected to die, was not the real Rajah of Berar, nor the pretender to the Marratta imperial throne; but the Naib, or deputy Rajah of Berar, during the minority of the real prince.

In consequence of this change in the destination of the expedition, Colonel Leslie was ordered to take his route through Berar, instead of pursuing his journey directly through Malva.—At the beginning of a French war, and at a time when all India beheld the Company's growing power with jealousy and with dread, instead of providing for the security of Bengal, or any other of our possessions in the east, the governor general dispatches Mr. Elliot with powers and instructions to enter into a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, with the Rajah of Berar. By this treaty, Roganaut-row was to be set aside, and Moodajee-Boosla to be placed at the head of the Marratta empire, and to be supported in his pretensions against the Company's ally, the Soubah of the Deccan, the richest prince in Hindostan. Mr. Elliot set out on this embassy; but dying on his journey, all the negociations intrusted to him were of course suspended.—And here let me digress from my narrative, in order to lament

lament the too early fate of one of the moſt amiable characters, and elevated geniuſes that ever dignified humanity. All who knew him were his friends; even ſtrangers, to whom report alone afforded an opportunity of admiring his talents and virtues, mourned for the death of Mr. Elliot. He fell a martyr to patriotiſm and fidelity to the Eaſt India Company. Afflicted with a diſorder peculiar to the eaſt, which originates in bilious obſtructions, and the cure of which requires a copious application of mercury, his duty prevailing over every other conſideration; he undertook a long and fatiguing journey, in the rainy ſeaſon, without a poſſibility of enjoying ſuch accommodations as might be ſuitable to his ſtate of health. After leaving the Company's territories, he diſcovered, that Governor Chevalier, who had ſecretly eſcaped from Chandernagore, was purſuing the ſame route before him. Knowing the ambitious deſigns of that man, and the accurate knowledge he had acquired of the politics of India, he

ſtrained every nerve to ſeize his perſon, dreading that his liberty and arrival in France might be attended with the worſt conſequences to the Company's affairs, and the views of Great Britain. He puſhed onward by forced journies, ſtill tracing and approaching M. Chevalier. Unfortunately, juſt when he had the chaſe in view, his progreſs was obſtructed by a ſudden overflow of the waters of one of the large rivers of Catac. Regardleſs of the ſtate of his health, and the medicines he had taken, by an extraordinary exertion of activity and ſtrength, he encountered the rapid ſtream, and ſwam acroſs the river with a few of his attendants and ſepoys. He found M. Chevalier at the metropolis of Catac: and, although eſcorted only by a few ſepoys, he claimed the perſon of Governor Chevalier with ſuch ſenſible arguments and manly eloquence, that the Rajah ſurrendered him.

As Mr. Elliot had but a ſmall eſcort, and the longeſt and moſt dangerous part

of his journey was yet to be performed, he could not, without ſacrificing the object of his commiſſion, return a guard to conduct M. Chevalier and his companion M. Moneron to Calcutta; wherefore he engaged their paroles in writing, to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war, within a limited time, to the governor general.— M. Chevalier and M. Moneron performed their engagements. Mr. Elliot purſued his route to Berar; but died a few days thereafter.—

CHATTERPORE, the capital of Bundlecund, *the country of diamonds*, is ſituated near the weſtern confines of that province. Its diſtance from Calcutta may be computed at twenty days journey for a native courier. Here Colonel Leſlie had lain near three months, committing in the country around many hoſtilities and depredations. A letter from this officer was laid before the ſupreme council upon the 19th of October, wherein he ſtated the cauſes which retarded his march; and accounts

accounts for his not having been heretofore more explicit in his communications to the board, by ſaying, that he had furniſhed Mr. Haſtings, at his own ſpecial deſire, with a particular journal of occurrences, and therefore had truſted to him for ſuch explanations as the board might require. The Colonel, notwithſtanding his delays and depredations, expreſſed not the leaſt apprehenſion of Mr. Haſtings's reſentment, or of any effects it could produce; but, on the contrary, he ſet him at open defiance in plain terms, and refuſed to hold private correſpondence with him any longer.

LETTER LXIII.

To J—— M——, Esq; London.

Calcutta, Jan. 21, 1780.

COLONEL LESLIE died at Chatterpore on the 3d of October 1778. He was succeeded in the chief command of the detachment by Colonel Goddard; who received a charge to renew the negociation with Moodajee-Boosla, on the principles of Mr. Elliot's instructions, with full power to conclude a treaty.

THE power that had been delegated on the 15th of October, to the presidency of Bombay, of commanding the march of the detachment, was revoked, and Colonel Goddard was to be directed only by orders from the supreme council. The governor general, on the 12th of October, had

violently cenſured the preſidency of Bombay, for not puſhing matters to extremity againſt the Marratta regency, in order to reinſtate Roganaut-row in the office of Paiſhwa; he now takes a meaſure inconſiſtent with the oſtenſible object of the expedition, which was to co-operate with the Bombay army in favour of Ragoba. For, without a preconcerted coincidence of movements, how can two armies act for one end? and, how can there be a coincidence of movements, where armies are under ſeparate commands? But, notwithſtanding Mr. Haſtings's warm approbation of the plan for raiſing Ragoba to the Marratta throne, he conſidered his cauſe as deſperate; and even while he approved the reſolutions of the Bombay preſidency, to accompany him with an army to Poonah, he declared, that he conſidered them as reſolutions to do nothing: an opinion for which an extreme fluctuation in the councils of Bombay, had indeed given good ground. But though he entertained no hopes in the meaſures of that preſi-

dency

dency in favour of Ragoba, he probably truſted that they might ſave at leaſt his detachment; a conjecture which the event fully juſtified. It is certain, however, from the uniform tenor of Mr. Haſtings's minutes, as well as the letters to and from the Rajah of Berar, that the real object of that expedition was an alliance with the Rajah, and an embaſſy to ſolicit him to become a candidate for the ſovereignty of the Marratta empire. Yet the expedition over land was planned and reſolved on the 23d of February 1778; and by the ſixth article of the inſtructions to the preſidency of Bombay, to treat concluſively and effectually with Roganaut-row, bearing date the 18th of the enſuing month of March, the ſupreme council were ſolemnly bound to perform every condition which any ſuch treaty might contain. And if violation of faith was not intended from the beginning, why was not the government of Bombay commanded to forbear entering into any treaty with Roganaut-row, the mo-

ment

ment that it was resolved to enter into a negociation with Moodajee-Boosla; and to avoid all overt hostilities against the Marrattas, unless in self-defence, until they should be expressly authorized by the supreme council, or Court of Directors? Or, why was it not confidentially intrusted with the design in favour of the Rajah, and directed to contribute to its success when it was ripe for execution?

In prosecution of his views of exalting Moodajee-Boosla to the Marratta imperial throne, Mr. Hastings wrote the following letter to his prime minister, *Dewagur Pundit*, dated in Calcutta, 23d November 1778: "In the whole of my conduct I have departed from the common line of policy, and have made advances when others in my situation would have waited for solicitations; as the greatest advantages to which I can look, cannot in their nature equal those to which the prosperous issue of our measures may conduct the state of the Maha-rajah's government.

But

But I know the characters to which I address myself. I trust to the approved bravery and spirit of your chief, that he will ardently catch at the objects presented to *his* ambition; and to *your* wisdom, of which, if fame reports truly, no minister ever possessed a larger portion, that you will view their importance in too clear a light to hazard the loss of them, by attempting to take an advantage of the desire which I have expressed for their accomplishment. This intimation is not so much intended for a caution to you, as for an explanation of my conduct to those who may be less able to penetrate the grounds of it."

BUT Moodajee-Boosla did not catch at the objects presented to his ambition, with that ardor which the governor looked for; nor does it appear that he ever had an idea of the nature and extent of Mr. Hastings's views; much less that he entertained any design of waging war against the Marratta regency and the Soubah of the Deccan,

Deccan, or of entering into any engagements with the Company, that would lead him into a rupture with either of those states, his neighbours. The Rajah, tottering on the brink of the grave, wisely preferred peace in mediocrity to the flattering, but uncertain allurement offered to his ambition. He undertook to vindicate the Paishwa from the charge brought against him by the Company's servants, of maintaining a secret connection with the French; and offered, with great earnestness, his own mediation to effect, between his countrymen and the English, a perfect reconciliation.

LETTER LXIV.

To J—— M——, Esq; London.

Calcutta, Jan. 25, 1780.

In the beginning of January 1779, Colonel Goddard, with the detachment, crossed the Narbudda, and encamped on the southern banks of that river, within the territory of Berar, where he waited to be informed of the final resolution of Moodajee-Boosla. He deputed Lieutenant Weatherstone to Naig-pore, in order to press the Rajah to conclude the proposed treaty, and immediately to enter on the execution of it; but without the smallest success. That prince declined entering into any treaty, or taking any active part whatever, till further accounts should arrive from Calcutta. As a pretext for this refusal, he pleaded the part taken by the council

council of Bombay, in favour of Roganaut-row, and not only recommended, but earneſtly entreated the Engliſh to abandon that chief, and accept of terms from the miniſterial party in Poonah.

The government of Berar had a thouſand arguments to oppoſe to thoſe urged in favour of the plan for their aſſuming the dignity of Ram-rajah of Setterah; particularly, "their pledged faith, and the friendſhip they had ſworn to the preſent Paiſhwa. Their aſſerting their pretenſions to the ſovereignty, they affirmed, would be encountered by numberleſs obſtacles. A victory could not be obtained without ſhedding much blood, and violating the moſt ſacred engagements." The ſupport afforded by the Engliſh to Roganaut-row, they conſidered "as highly impolitical, and predicted, that in the end it would be found to be ſo. Roganaut-row, they ſaid, was held in univerſal abhorrence; and the prejudices in the Deccan againſt

that

that chief, would not eaſily, if ever, be re-removed."

THESE ſentiments of the Maha-rajah and his miniſters, being communicated to Governor Haſtings, very much diſconcerted and diſtreſſed him. He ſent a letter to Moodajee-Booſla, in which he laments rather than complains, of the diſtruſt entertained by the Rajah; and declares, that had he accepted of the terms offered to him by Colonel Goddard, and concluded a treaty with the government of Bengal, he (Mr. Haſtings) ſhould have held the obligation of it ſuperior to that of any engagement formed by the government of Bombay; "and ſhould have thought it his duty to have maintained it againſt every conſideration, even of the moſt valuable intereſts and ſafety of the Engliſh poſſeſſions intruſted to his charge *. To you," continued the go-

* This declaration of Mr. Haſtings ſurpaſſes the bittereſt accuſations of his adverſaries, and expoſes views and purpoſes totally inconſiſtent with duty and fidelity.

vernor general, "I had unreſervedly committed all my views, partly and indiſtinctly by letters, but very fully in repeated converſations with your Vakeel Beneram Pundit, as it would have been very improper to have affairs of ſuch delicacy and importance committed to letters, and to the hazards to which theſe would have been expoſed in a long and doubtful journey. Your caution was ſtill greater, and perhaps more commendable, although I may regret the neceſſity which preſcribed it; for neither your letters, nor the letters of Beneram Pundit, afforded me the leaſt clue to judge of your ſentiments or inclination reſpecting the particular points of action which were to form the ſubſtance of our projected engagements. And although from your general profeſſions, and the warmth and ſincerity with which theſe were manifeſtly dictated, I had every reaſon to conclude that you approved of them; yet, without ſome aſſurances, common prudence required, that I ſhould not precipitately abandon every

every other reſource, and irrevocably commit the honour and intereſts of this government in a doubtful meaſure. Precautions were taken, that nothing ſhould be undertaken by any of the governments dependent on this, which might eventually interfere with thoſe actually concluded with you,"

THE governor's letter had no effect on Moodajee-Booſla; and Colonel Goddard, having received a letter from GENERAL Carnac and Colonel Egerton, bearing date the 11th of January*, adviſing him not to continue his march towards Poonah, but to proceed either to Baroach or Surat, or to remain on the borders of Berar, wiſely followed their advice. He moved with his detachment from Brahmpore, on the 6th of February, and arrived at Surat about the 26th of that month, without having met with any oppoſition, or ſo

* Whence it is evident, that theſe gentlemen diſcovered their miſtake before the firſt action with the Marratta army.

much as even feeing an enemy; and, had the army been commanded by a man of lefs bravery and activity, this expedition might not have been fo fuccefsful. The Marrattas called in all their troops to oppofe the Bombay army; and the treaty made with Mr. Carnac, lulled them into a fecurity, until it was difavowed in Bombay; and in the mean time, Colonel Goddard preffed his march, and efcaped.

LETTER

LETTER LXV.

To J—— M——, Efq; London.

Calcutta, Jan. 26, 1780.

EUROPEAN nations falfely imagine, that all the delicacy of tafte and refinement of fentiment that are to be found in the world, are poffeffed by themfelves; other nations, they confider as rude and barbarous. It is true, that a few men of enlightened underftandings are ready to allow a degree of cultivation to certain Afiatic nations: but I am apt to think, that even thefe men under-rate the talents as well as the virtues of the fons of the eaft; at leaft, I have fcarcely met with any author who fpeaks on this fubject with any degree of enthufiafm. Every body feems willing to give a tacit confent to that vaft fuperiority, in all

respects, which European vanity and arrogance have assumed over all the rest of the world.

THE following letter from the Maharajah Moodajee-Boosla, to Mr. Hastings, for good sense, a spirit of justice, humanity, and delicacy of sentiment and taste, may justly be compared with any of Pliny or Cicero.

Copy of a letter from MOODAJEE-BOOSLA *to Governor* HASTINGS, *dated the 5th December* 1778, *and received the 2d January* 1779.

" YOUR friendly letter of the 19th Ramzam, (11th October) informing me of your having received advice of the death of Mr. Elliot, in his way to Naigpore *; your concern at that event, and at the unavoidable suspensions of the negotiations which that gentleman was to

* The capital of Berar.

have

have conducted with me on the part of your government; and the delay in the eſtabliſhment of a ſtrict and perpetual friendſhip between the Company's ſtate and mine (concerning which you had exerted yourſelf ſo warmly) by reaſon that the preſent ſituation of affairs would not admit of the delay which muſt attend the deputation of another perſon from thence, without injuring the deſigns in hand; but that in your conviction of my favourable diſpoſition, from the knowledge that my intereſts and the Company's are inſeparably connected; and in the zeal of Beneram Pundit, whom, during the long period he reſided with you, you found ſo deſerving of your confidence, &c. &c: That the plan propoſed, and what you have written, is to promote our common advantage, not for the intereſt of one party only, being convinced, that no public alliance or private friendſhip, can be firmly eſtabliſhed without reciprocal advantages: That it is on theſe principles you had

long

long ago planned an alliance with me, the time for the accompliſhment of which is now come; for you conceive it to be equally for my intereſt as for yours, our countries bordering on each other, and our natural enemies being the ſame: That, in a word, you required nothing but the junction of my forces with yours, by which, though each is ſingly very powerful, they will acquire a ten-fold proportion of ſtrength: That the delay of the progreſs in the detachment intended for Bombay, had not ariſen from the oppoſition of an enemy, but from other cauſes improper to mention; but that it will now ſhortly arrive in my territories, and its operation be determined by my advice: That you have given directions to Colonel Leſlie, to co-operate with the forces which I ſhall unite with his: That as you offer me the forces of your Circar to promote my views, you in return require the aſſiſtance of mine to effect your purpoſes; with other particulars which I fully

fully underſtand, reached me on the 26th Shawand (16th November) and afforded me great pleaſure. I alſo received duplicate and triplicate of this letter.—In the latter part of it you expreſs, that as you have made me acquainted with your views, it is neceſſary that I alſo communicate to you, without reſerve, the ends which I look to for my advantage in this union: That the good faith of the Engliſh to every engagement they contract, ſo long as it is obſerved by others, is univerſally known; and that it has been the invariable rule of your conduct, to ſupport this character in all acts depending on you, and never to relinquiſh any deſign of importance formed on good and judicious grounds, but to perſevere ſteadily to its completion: That having thus explained to me your ſentiments and views, you wait only to know mine; and on the knowledge of theſe, you ſhall form your ultimate reſolution.—

"It is equally a maxim of ſincere friendſhip and good government, ſteadineſs, magnanimity, and foreſight, that a plan, formed on good and judicious grounds, ſhould be conducted in ſuch a manner as to end happily. You deſire to learn my ſentiments and views; and deferring to form your ultimate reſolutions until you had heard further from me, is the ſame thing as if you had conſulted me primarily on your firſt deſigns.

"Since, after the ſtricteſt ſcrutiny and reſearches into diſpoſitions and views of the multitude, it has been determined, on proofs of mutual ſincerity and good faith, that a perpetual friendſhip and union be eſtabliſhed, it will, like the wall of Alexander, for the happineſs of mankind, continue unſhaken until the end of time.

"The having cauſed a tranſlation to be made into Engliſh of the Hindoo books, called

called the Shafter and Poran, and of the hiftory of the former kings; the ftudying thefe books, and keeping the pictures of the former kings and prefent rulers of Hind, Decan, &c. always before your eyes, and from their lifelefs fimilitude to difcover which of them were or are worthy of rule, and poffeffed of good faith; from which to determine with whom to contract engagements, and what conduct to obferve to them refpectively;—alfo, the endeavour to preferve the bleffing of peace, until forced to relinquifh it;—the fupporting every one in his hereditary right; and revenging the breach of faith and engagements; but on the fubmiffion of the offenders, the exercife of the virtues of clemency and generofity, by pardoning, and receiving him again into favour, and reftoring him to his poffeffions;—the not fuffering the intoxication of power to reduce you into a breach of faith;—and the giving fupport to each illuftrious houfe in proportion to its refpective merits, and in matters which required

required a long courſe of years to bring to perfection;—the forming your conduct on mature deliberation, and the advice of the Company and Council,—are the ſure means of exalting your greatneſs and proſperity to the higheſt pitch.——The intention of all this is to recommend univerſal peace and friendſhip in the manner following: The Almighty diſpoſes of kingdoms, and places whomſoever he chuſes on the ſeats of power and rule; but makes their ſtability to depend on their peaceable, juſt, and friendly conduct to others. —It is not every one who is equal to the taſk of government, on the plan deſigned by the Almighty Ruler, and of enſuring his ſtability by a wiſe and juſt conduct.— Hind and Deccan poſſeſs, at preſent, very few enlightened, but a great multitude of weak and ignorant men: The Engliſh chiefs, and you in a ſuperior degree, poſſeſs all the virtues above recited, who coming from diſtant iſlands by a ſix month's voyage on the great ocean, by their magnanimity and fortitude, gained the

the admiration of many Soubahs on this continent. It is eafy to acquire a kingdom; but to become a king over kings, and chief of chiefs, is a very difficult matter. The attainment of this is only to be effected by the means of friendfhip, by which the univerfe may be fubjected. My conduct is framed on thefe principles. —The refidence of Beneram Pundit at Calcutta, was folely to effect the eftablifhment of the moft intimate friendfhip; and by the bleffing of God it has taken fuch deep root, that through your means it has reached the ears of the Company and King of England: And our connection and correfpondence, carried on under the veil of the vicinity of our dominions, has been difcovered by the Poonah Minifters, and by the Nabob Nizum-ul-Dowla; yet, though they form various conjectures and doubts, and have fent a trufty Vakeel, and written repeated letters, to endeavour to find out the motives of our union, yet they remain a myftery, as I make the

plea

plea of our ancient ties, and the junction of our territories.

"I WAS impatiently expecting the arrival of Mr. Elliot, who being endowed with an enlightened underſtanding, and inveſted with full powers from you to conduct the negotiations, and determine on the meaſures to be purſued, would have eſtabliſhed the ties of a perpetual friendſhip, and have ſettled every matter on the firmeſt baſis. It pleaſed God that he ſhould die on the journey; and the grief I felt at his unfortunate loſs, who would have been the means of ſettling all points between us, to our mutual content, and by his negociation with me, giving ſatiſfaction to the Paiſhwa and Nabob Nizam-ul-Dowla; all which have been by his death thrown back many months; my grief is not to be deſcribed, and only ſerves to add to your affliction. I have not yet recovered the ſhock which that event gave me, as you will learn more fully from Beneram Pundit.

Pundit. There is no remedy for ſuch misfortunes, and it is in vain to ſtrive againſt the decrees of Providence. Had Mr. Elliot arrived, ſuch ſtrokes of policy would have been employed, that the Poonah miniſters would have adhered more ſcrupulouſly than before to their engagements; and the French, who are the natural enemies of the Engliſh, would have been theirs likewiſe; and their ſuſpicions from apprehenſions of ſupport being given to Roganaut-row, which never was, nor is deſigned by the Engliſh chiefs, as I learn from Beneram, who had it from your own mouth, and which has cauſed them great uneaſineſs, would have been entirely removed by Mr. Elliot and my joint ſecurity.

"THE Nabob Nizam-ul-Dowla,—who wrote you repeatedly on this ſubject, and received for anſwer, that you had no idea of aiding or ſupporting Roganaut-row; that your enmity was ſolely pointed

againſt the French; and that whoever aſſiſted the French were your enemies,—would likewiſe by theſe means have been thoroughly ſatisfied, and your detachment would have reached Bombay, without meeting the ſmalleſt interruption; and had the Poonah miniſters then acted a contrary part, I ſhould have withdrawn myſelf from their friendſhip. But by the death of Mr. Elliot, all theſe deſigns have fallen to the ground, and muſt be ſuſpended until another opportunity, and the knowledge of your ſentiments. It is a proverb, "that whatever is deliberately done, is well done." In reply to what you write reſpecting your framing your ultimate reſolutions, I have communicated to Beneram Pundit whatever I judge proper and eligible, and which may promote them in ſuch a manner as may not be ſubject to any change from the viciſſitudes of fortune. For thoſe points which I fixed on, after minute deliberation, as the moſt eligible that can be adopted, I refer you to the letters of

Beneram Pundit. If, notwithſtanding, you have any plan to propoſe for the reciprocal benefit of our ſtates, be pleaſed to communicate to me.

POSTSCRIPT.

"To your letter reſpecting ſending an army to overawe the French, and to reinforce the government of Bombay; and ſetting forth that the Poonah miniſters having broken the treaty with the Engliſh, and in oppoſition to the rights of friendſhip received an envoy of the French king, and granted the port of Choul to that nation, thereby enabling them to form an arſenal, and collect military ſtores; and of their having written to their officers, to permit the French ſhips to enter their ports; and that it being therefore incumbent on you to take meaſures to counteract their deſigns, you had determined to ſend a ſtrong detachment for the reinforcement of Bombay, by the route of Berar; and

 that

that in conſideration of our ancient friendſhip, and the vicinity of our dominions, you requeſted, that on its arrival in my neighbourhood, I would cauſe it to be inſtructed in the route, and, providing it with proviſions and neceſſaries, have it conducted in ſafety through my territories, and join a body of my forces with it, which would increaſe and cement our friendſhip; and that you have, at the aſſurance of Beneram, fixed on this route for its march in preference to any other: In reply to this letter, actuated by its dictates of the ſincereſt friendſhip, I waited not to take the advice of any one, but without heſitation wrote you, That where a ſincere friendſhip exiſted, the paſſage of troops through my country was a matter of no moment; that they ſhould proceed immediately through my country. I likewiſe informed Colonel Leſlie of the difficulties and dangers he would meet with in the way, from dangerous mountains, extenſive rivers, &c. And alſo diſpatched Lalla Jadda Roy, with a chief of note, to the

the banks of the Narbudda, to ſupply the detachment with proviſions as long as they were in my territory, and to treat them with all the duties of hoſpitality; where he waited in expectation of their arrival for ſix months to no purpoſe. They loitered away their time in the Bundle Cund countries, contrary to every rule of policy. At that time all the Poonah miniſters were ſeparately employed in their own private affairs, or in the war with Hyder Naig, inſomuch that they had no time to turn their attention to the concerns of other parts, and the march to Bombay might have been effected with the greateſt eaſe. The time is now paſt. The arrow is ſhot, and cannot be recalled. As I have repeatedly written to the Poonah miniſters, with whom I keep up a correſpondence on the ſubject of their encouraging a French envoy, and breaking their faith with the Engliſh chiefs, acts highly inconſiſtent with honour and policy; the anſwer I have received from them, I have communicated to you. The ſubſtance of what

they ſay in their own juſtification is this: That the French Vakeel came for the purpoſe of traffic, not to negociate; yet, for the ſatisfaction of the Engliſh, they gave him his diſmiſſion: That the account of the grant of the port of Choul, and an arſenal, is entirely without foundation; and that they have not the leaſt indiſpoſition towards the Engliſh: That I will therefore write to Calcutta, that you may be perfectly ſatisfied reſpecting their diſpoſition.—My letters did not produce the effect of ſatisfying you on the ſubject of the Paiſhwa, but your doubts ſtill remained. And, actuated by wiſdom and prudence, you determined to ſend Mr. Elliot to me; and wrote to me, that on his arrival at Naigpore, after he had an interview with me, and learned my ſentiments and views, he would, in conjunction with me, form a plan for our mutual honour and benefit, and give directions to Colonel Leſlie in conſequence, who would be guided thereby.—The event of this gentleman's deputation is too well known; and

and Colonel Leflie likewife, after engaging in hoftilities with the Paifhwa's officers and Zemindars of thefe parts, and collecting large fums of money, died. Colonel Goddard fucceeded to the command, and purfued the fame line of conduct, with refpect to the Talookdars, as his predeceffor; and arriving at Garawale and Garafur in the territory of the Afghans, whither he was obliged to march with the utmoft caution, being furrounded with a Marratta army, who conftantly feized every opportunity to attack him, wrote me from thence, that he fhould fhortly reach the Narbudda, where I would be pleafed to caufe grain and other neceffaries to be prepared, and a party of my forces to be ready to join him.—I wrote him in anfwer, That Lalla Jada Roy, and Shao Baal Hazaile were waiting on that fide the Narbudda which is within my territories, and that the Gaut where the troops fhould crofs was two cofs from hence, under Haffingabad; that Janojee Boofla forded it with his army at that place, on his expe-

dition to Malawa, and that I did not doubt it was now fordable; that he ſhould therefore croſs his army there, and repair to Haſſingabad: That Lalla Jada Roy would exert his utmoſt aſſiduity in ſupplying him with grain and other proviſions, and treat them with every degree of hoſpitality; but that, as the road forward was very difficult and dangerous, and thouſands of the Balha Caſtes were concealed in the holes in the mountains; who though not able to oppoſe him openly, yet would do it by ambuſcade and ſtratagems, and cut off his ſupplies of proviſions; and that, beyond that he would enter the Soubahſhip of Barhampore, dependent on the Paiſhwa: That near 4000 of Scindia's cavalry were waiting at the fort of Aſſur, for the arrival of the Engliſh on the banks of the Ganges; 10,000 more were under the command of Bagarut Sundiab; Scindiah himſelf with the chiefs in readineſs at Poonah, waiting to hear of the approach of the Engliſh; and moreover in Berar, in which the Nabob Nizam-

ul-Dowla

ul-Dowla poſſeſſes a ſhare with me, all the Jaghirdars were in readineſs with powerful armies; and although the Engliſh poſſeſſed the greateſt magnanimity in battle, yet as every ſtep they took would be juſt into the mouth of danger, and all the above-mentioned chiefs would ſet themſelves to cut off and deſtroy his proviſions, and take every opportunity of attacking him when they ſaw an advantage, and of harraſſing him night and day, conſtantly ſurrounding his army with their numerous forces, the junction of a body of my forces with his, would avail nothing in the face of ſuch large armies, but would only involve me in the greateſt loſſes: That it neither was adviſeable for him to return, which would diminiſh the awe and reſpect in which he was held; that I would therefore write the particulars explicitly to Calcutta, and that whatever you ſhould think proper to intimate to him and me in reply, it would be adviſeable to abide by, and act accordingly. All which time I would recommend that he continued

tinued at Hoſſingur.—That I have received letters from Calcutta, filled with the warmeſt friendſhip and confidence to the following purport: "That the detachment ſhould come into my neighbourhood, and be guided in its operations by my advice: That it is incumbent on every chief who enjoys the confidence of another, to give ſuch advice as may be moſt advantageous to the party repoſing truſt, and moſt conſiſtent with the faith of engagements; and that with ſuch conduct the Almighty is well pleaſed." That I had alſo written to the Poonah miniſters my advice on the ſituation of affairs, to this purport: "That Mr. Elliot was deputed hither to negociate with me, but dying in the journey, all the negociations intruſted to him were ſuſpended; that had he arrived at Naigpore, I had determined, from principles of attachment, to have removed from the minds of the Engliſh the doubts and apprehenſions which had ariſen by reaſon of the ſuppoſed encouragement of the French envoy at Poonah, and the agreement

agreement to ſupport that nation, who were the inveterate enemies of the Engliſh, which had given riſe to the quarrel between the two ſtates, by proving to them under the ſanction of ſolemn oaths, and becoming myſelf guarantee, that all thoſe reports were groundleſs, and that the Poonah miniſters were ſteady and zealous in their engagements with the Engliſh, and on ſeveral accounts highly obliged to them. And I would have taken from Mr. Elliot, engagements, that the Engliſh had no idea of affording ſupport to Roganautrow, but were reſolved to maintain their treaty inviolate; and that their apprehenſions related to the French; and that when I gave the Engliſh ſatisfaction relating to the French, and became guarantee, all his doubts would be removed; and that if it was requiſite, a freſh engagement ſhould be executed, to which he would be a guarantee: That, in brief, each party entertained a reaſonable doubt; the Engliſh, that the Poonah miniſters would join with the French; and the Poonah

miniſters,

ministers, that the English support Roganaut-row: That when these suspicions no longer remained, all causes of displeasure would of course cease; and that they could have no objection to a detachment of English forces, sent for the reinforcement of Bombay, and to overawe the French, not for the support of Roganaut-row, repairing thither; and to oppose them would in such case have been highly improper." &c. &c. &c.

SECOND POSTSCRIPT.

"BABOO-ROW, the Paishwa's vakeel, has observed to me in the course of conversation, that his master has not the slightest idea of failing in his engagements with the English, or of contracting any friendship with the French; but that the treaty forbids the march of English forces through the Paishwa's dominions; that therefore the appearance of the detachment now on its march, is an infringement of the treaty.

THIRD POSTSCRIPT.

"ALTHOUGH it may appear improper to repeat the ſame thing over again, yet the importance of the ſubject may plead in my excuſe. On either part, a doubt ſubſiſts. The Poonah miniſters ſuſpect that the Engliſh forces on their march to Bombay, though oſtenſibly for the purpoſe of oppoſing the French, are in reality intended for the ſupport of Roganaut-row; and that the Engliſh at Bombay, who were not included in the treaty with the Paiſhwa, which was concluded through the government of Bengal, with the advice of the chief at Calcutta, are deſirous of breaking with the Paiſhwa, and ſupporting Roganaut-row; and that the detachment had been ſent at their requiſition. They alledge, that the chief of Calcutta writes to them, that he is firmly reſolved to adhere to the treaty with the Paiſhwa; and that the detachment he has ſent to Bombay, is ſolely to awe the French,

without

without the leaſt deſign to aſſiſt Roganaut-row; and that ſince it is forbidden in the treaty to diſpatch troops over land, the march of the troops is a breach of it: That if it is neceſſary to ſend troops to Bombay to awe the French, they ought to be ſent by ſea.

"The Engliſh on their part ſuſpect the Poonah miniſters of joining the French, in conſequence of having received a French vakeel. As the Paiſhwa formerly wrote me, that he had no idea of failing in his engagements with the Engliſh, and that he had given no encouragement to the French vakeel, who came for the purpoſe of traffic, and that he had diſmiſſed him, therefore requeſted that I would ſatisfy you in that reſpect; I, in conſequence, formerly wrote you all theſe particulars. As I have a voucher in my hand from the Paiſhwa, that he has no connection with the French, and is ſteady to his engagements with the Engliſh, I am able, by this voucher, to give you complete ſatis-

faction on this head; but I have no voucher, or intimation from you, by which I may be able to give satisfaction to him.

"As he pleads a prohibition in the treaty, to the march of forces over land, and likewise complains respecting the money collected by Colonel Leslie in his territories, what answer can be made thereto?

"As the time requires, that a reconciliation take place with the Poonah ministers, you will consider and determine what reply shall be given to these two points of which they complain; and by what means they may be satisfied; and communicate your resolution to me, that I may write conformably thereto, and remove all doubts."

LETTER LXVI.

To J—— M——, Esq; London.

Calcutta, Jan. 24, 1780.

THE Company's concerns in Europe and in India, are now reduced to a ſtate, by much too critical not to alarm every perſon whoſe mind is not callous, and tainted with deliberate treachery *.

THE nation, engaged in a general war in Europe and America, muſt, ere now, have contracted with the Company to continue their charter, and the poſſeſſion of all territorial revenues in India, in conſideration of a gift and loan of ſeveral millions.

* The ſubſtance of this letter on the ſubject of an intended coalition, was alſo ſent to a member of government in Bengal.

THE

THE Company were fully juſtified, by the confident aſſeveration of their governor general and the ſecond in ſupreme council, on the 10th of Auguſt 1778, to conclude with certainty, that near three millions ſterling are now unappropriated in their treaſury in Bengal, without any reduction of the current inveſtments; and therefore, to make theſe very important and ſeaſonable conceſſions to the nation.

THE nation, equally confident in the truth of what the Company's principal miniſters abroad had aſſerted, and the Directors at home believed, muſt have implicitly truſted to that reſource; and either advanced proportionably in the meaſure of expence, by proſecuting the war with vigour, or ſeaſonably relaxed in taxing the people.

THE meaſures, obſtinately and perverſely purſued in India, have conſumed all the Company's treaſures in Bengal; and in ſome eſtabliſhments have increaſed their

debts, without the probable means of removing the caufes, or of retrieving their circumftances; infomuch, that it is to be apprehended, the very inveftments muft be curtailed, if not wholly ftopt, inftead of making an extraordinary remittance of three millions to Britain, to anfwer the Company's engagements to the nation.

The weight of this difappointment will embarrafs government, and operate as a double tax upon the nation, already depreffed in means, and in credit: The minifter will throw it upon the Company; the Company will juftify themfelves by the bafenefs and treachery of their principal fervants abroad; the nation will accufe the Directors, as acceffaries in the guilt of their fervants, whom they might have removed, as their malverfations had repeatedly been communicated to them; the Directors will retort upon adminiftration, by recurring to the cenfures, which they had freely thrown from time to time upon the majority of their principal fer-

vants; and alledging that, under the ſecret influence and protection of miniſterial power, the delinquents were not only kept in their ſtations, but encouraged in contemptuous diſobedience, and a continuation of abuſes.

THE nation will view it in its true light; it will become a ſubject of impeachment; the perfidious authors will be abandoned to their fate. A bill of pains and penalties will paſs unanimouſly, becauſe no miniſter will dare to ſupport ſo bad a cauſe; private property will be ſequeſtered, and the offending perſon arreſted.

THE chief author of theſe great evils ſees the approaching event with dreadful alarm; he dreads again the apoſtacy of Sir E—— C——e; again he beholds all the powers in India rouſed, and united to oppoſe the unabating ambition of a foreign people, under the guidance of men, who

have proved themselves strangers equally to public and private faith, and to the purity and sacredness of solemn engagements. He fears the premature arrival of French auxiliaries, to incorporate with, and to direct the offended native states. He knows that all the powers in India have lost confidence in himself, and that pacific overtures are therefore needless. He desires, now, to lessen the odium against himself, and to elude a part of the public censure, by associating his opponents in all his pernicious measures, by a late coalition. He wishes also to associate them in support of his foul, destructive, and illegal contracts—in the misconduct and enormous depredations of the late resident at Oude. And he dreads that old practices, even antecedent to the present government, will burst out into judgment against him. Craft, subtilty, temporizing, and self-possession, are peculiar to a thirty years education under wily Rajahs, Banians, and Circars in Hindostan. He is not

not only inſincere, but premeditately intent on deception, the inſtant that a breach of faith can gratify his reſentment, becauſe he is implacable; or his purpoſes, becauſe he is political; or his power, becauſe he is imperious; and would rather part with exiſtence than with authority, or ceaſe to be idolized and flattered.

HE ſees no alternative, but to purſue the war; he ſees, that to purſue the war, beſides the chances of being worſted at all quarters, he muſt ſtop all inveſtments; and he ſees, that to ſtop the inveſtments will be followed with the immediate bankruptcy of the Company in Europe. Nay, he muſt ſee, that ſuch is the miſerable ſtate to which his meaſures have reduced trade, that all the current year's inveſtment being already in ſtore, it cannot be converted into money; and that money is now indiſpenſably wanted to carry on the war. And his diſcernment points out clearly to his view, the intire deſtruction of the Company's power in Bengal, Bahar, and

the Vizier's provinces, if the manufacturers are thrown idle, and consequently forced to emigrate for bread.

In this critical dilemma, he calls artfully for relief from those, whose arguments against his own perfidious measures he had heretofore treated so contemptuously, as not to deign answers to them.

He knows, that to secure success in any overtures to Indian princes, he himself cannot appear as ostensible minister, or as contracting-party, because they will place no confidence in his promises, engagements, or faith. That therefore, a new administration, in which he bears no leading part, can alone gain access, even to treat.

After so long, so honourable, so faithful, and so steady a resistance, to save the Company, and to benefit the British nation, * however wearied with want of

* Alluding to Mr. Francis's conduct.

success

ſucceſs and protection, to yield now, unleſs with a firm and unalterable purpoſe to ſupport the ſame meaſures and principles, will be, to releaſe the active aggreſſor from more than a third part of his guilt; and to become not an acceſſary, but a principal in all the miſchiefs and crimes he has committed.

IT may be poſſible to divert Hyder Ally and the Nizam from the union with the Marratta junction. A common cauſe, to oppoſe a common enemy, only could have connected men whoſe enmities are inherent, inveterate, and deep-rooted. A ſpeedy and judicious embaſſy may effect an alliance with theſe two princes: and the Rajah of Berar is ſo contiguouſly ſituated, that the movement of a brigade over the Jumma, will withdraw him from the Poonah alliance, after the alliance is effected with Hyder Ally and the Nizam. In all, and every other reſpect, it will be prudent to act only on the defenſive, until thoſe connections are firmly eſtabliſhed: and then the

the Marrattas, will hearken to ſuch juſt and reaſonable terms, as will not diſhonour the Britiſh name, tarniſh its military fame, or weaken its influence in Aſia.

Before matters are reduced to extremities, or, that the critical ſituation of the Company's affairs is publiſhed, it might be expedient to open the treaſures of Bengal and Madras, to receive a loan of a crore of rupees. If it cannot be effected at five per cent. as it might have been laſt year, to give ſix, ſeven, or even eight per cent. per annum intereſt, on what ſhall be made payable in India; or four per cent. payable, periodically, in Europe.

I shall ſet out from this place within a day or two, to embark in the ſhip G—s, now lying at the Barabulla, near the entrance of the Houghly. My next ſhall be from Madras, whence we are to have convoy. I ſhall continue this correſpondence during the paſſage home, from the ſeveral places of refreſhment. Adieu.

LETTER LXVII.

To G—— L——, Efq. in Calcutta.

On board the Ship G——s,
Madras Road, Feb. 23, 1780.

SINCERITY, my dear Sir, is too firmly implanted, both by nature and habit, in my conftitution, not to command an implicit obfervance of fuch promifes as are alfo the fpontaneous off-fpring of efteem and friendfhip. I am willing to believe, that your motives in afking, were as candid as mine in promifing to converfe with you from the feveral places of refrefhment.

I DO not know what orders were given to the Captains R—— and H——, about keeping company (although one was de-

tained

tained a whole fortnight, for the avowed purpofe of fecurity to both, by which the fair feafon for a fafe and quick paffage to Madras was loft;) but they parted and loft fight of each other the fecond night, as if by mutual inclination, and by previous compact. Calms retarded our progrefs; fo that our paffage hither was tedioufly protracted from the 6th to this day. The want of accommodations to fit or lie, and far lefs to write (for I am now writing upon one knee over the other) added to the unceafing noife of eighteen children of all complexions, who are, for the moft part, under no kind of government, are circumftances which have proved fo exceedingly unpleafant, and oppofite to my defire of retirement, that if I cannot be relieved from fome of thefe local inconveniences, I muft endeavour to procure an accommodation in fome other fhip at Madras, better fitted to all my views, and more confonant to the indulgences which I have ever been accuftomed to enjoy at fea, even when a prifoner.—Nor can I, with an exertion of

pains, perſuade myſelf to admire the generality of our aged ſociety. We have, however, ſome mild, agreeable, and ſenſible ladies, who, to the other pleaſing advantages to be derived from their converſations and diſpoſitions, add the particular tendency of checking a ſpecies of entertainment, which has ever proved peculiarly diſguſting and nauſeous to me, and to which, otherwiſe, I plainly perceive that the bulk of our company would be very prone; that is to ſay, obſcene and profane language.—It has fallen to my lot to make many voyages and tours; but I never remember to have ſeen a company ſo completely reſembling what hath been delineated in a ſtage-coach in Britain, or a diligence on the continent of Europe, as that of which I now compoſe one. To the ladies, I have found a great acquiſition in Captain C——e, who is a frank, honeſt, intelligent man, with a proper knowledge of men and manners, and a heart which does equal honour to his country and to humanity. If our friend

friend ſhould ever preſide in India, I wiſh, for the ſake of both, that he was his aid de camp, with rank and emolument ſuitable to his merit and capacity. Major W——r improves upon acquaintance by a ſuperior propriety of demeanour, which a knowledge of life gives him over others of our little community.—I need not tell you who I mean; but you will readily recollect a wiſh which I had entertained, to have a certain perſon, for his own ſake, of the party. Theſe ideas have vaniſhed, and I can ſee nothing *now* in that viſionary ſuperficies, but ſelf-conceit, ſelf-love, drivelling repetitions of wit, inſincerity, and a character approaching to miſanthropy. Thus we find, my good friend, how difficult, and how improper it is to judge of men, from early, or even late *appearances*. Men hackneyed in deceit and diſſimulation, who have power to poſſeſs themſelves, can long conceal the cloven hoof, when they find it neceſſary to carry their ends by hypocriſy. I have often had occaſion to make an obſervation, from expe-

rience,

rience, that men having finifter views, difguife themfelves with too much art to be eafily detected; and that a combination of ambitious criminals, are not only impenetrable, but irrefiftible, by means of mutual fupport and encouragement in the greateft enormities. Vices, which at firft might have ftruck them with horror, become at length, by infenfible degrees, not only familiar to themfelves, but infufe their contagious influence to all their dependents, until every fenfe of honour and virtue is abforbed in avarice, and her concomitant paffions.—This digreffion has infenfibly led to a fubject, which has inceffantly occupied my thoughts. By frefh difcoveries, in confequence of new refearches, and by probing the cancerous ulcer which has contaminated the infectious air of Bengal, I have difcovered additional caufes of difguft, as well as of ferious apprehenfions of damnable, dark defigns to circumvent their opponents to their iniquitous practices, into a participation of the very meafures which they had fo

 honourably

honourably and faithfully pursued; and consequently, of their own guilt; as the most effectual means of escaping the punishment so justly due to the enormity of their own crimes. What greater curse can the justice of Providence denounce on criminals, than an ambition to acquire that kind of reputation in life, which the keen testimony of their own consciences continually belies?—This must be the tormented state of a set of men, who now practise deceit in Calcutta with envenomed art, to wound the spotless reputation of the only guiltless members of the supreme administration of India, in the hope of reducing them, in respect to guilt, to a level with themselves; because they *now* begin to believe, that the application of eastern riches will not be able to protect them from the justice of a much-injured nation, and deluded constituents. I wish I could, with equal ease as I write, convey some recent ideas of an incredible magnitude, which, under all local inconveniences, I have cursorily committed,

as memorandums, to paper, ſince I left the Barrabulla. I only dread, that a coalition will tarniſh the glory inſeparable from honour, juſtice, and virtue.

I CANNOT avoid to expreſs my hearty deſire to know in what degree, upon what conditions, and to what purpoſes, the ſo much (by me) dreaded coalition has taken place. Indeed, it may be proper and uſeful to keep friends truly adviſed, as well to guard againſt miſrepreſentations of the general ſyſtem, as to be able to refute allegations of particular or perſonal natures.

LETTER

LETTER LXVIII.

To ——— ———, Esq. in Calcutta.

Madras, March 28, 1780.

THE day after my arrival here, I used the freedom of conveying, inaccurately, some ideas which occurred on the passage from Bengal hither. Having an invincible attachment to my country; conceiving the most sanguine ideas of the unbounded advantages which the productions of Hindostan are capable of yielding, in return for the protection of Britain; and expecting to return with that kind of support which may enable me to accomplish my views with honour to myself, and benefit to the Company, to the nation, and to the natives; I am moved by a natural impulse to dwell upon a sub-

jeſt, which may appear foreign to my ſtation and character.

MUCH information and knowledge of India politics, acquired by inveſtigations in Europe, and confirmed by local evidence in foreign eſtabliſhments, and in Calcutta, have directed my lateſt thoughts to future events, which have preſented themſelves to my view, big with evils to the Britiſh empire in Hindoſtan. I had been but a few weeks in India, when the vapour with which the partiality of my moſt familiar connections in Europe had obſcured my underſtanding, was reluctantly diſpelled. I ſoon beheld, not only the errors into which miſrepreſentations, and conſequent prejudices, inſenſibly led ſtateſmen to defeat the objects which they wiſhed to attain, and to ruin the faireſt hopes of a nation, by that dreadful combination of native princes, which the imperious law of nature dictated as the only refuge from ſlavery, and the only means of preſerving their religious tenets and cuſ-

 toms

toms from the infatiable grafp of wild ambition and fordid avarice, and from the wanton fcourge of relentlefs oppreffion and injuftice. Driven to defpair, which often infpires refolutions big with hope, the native powers of India refolved to oppofe, refift, and by a united blow to annihilate the faithlefs authors of violated engagements, the unprovoked difturbers of the peace of Afia; and whofe fucceffes had raifed in their brains, the frantic idea of omnipotence and univerfal monarchy. This is the fubftance of what thofe powers inculcate, to excite a general commotion againft the Englifh. They have fucceeded but too well. Inftead of venerating the Englifh, they now execrate them: inftead of being folicited as allies, the Englifh now folicit in vain: inftead of receiving bribes, bribes are now offered to petty rajahs to mediate for the Englifh. And yet the authors of thefe calamities, moft unaccountably and prepofteroufly, continue perverfely to purfue the fame hoftile iniquitous meafures, and by every

poſſible means endeavour to incenſe the greater powers, and to cement the combinations already formed againſt the Engliſh Company and nation. Theſe things frequently occupied my thoughts, and as often prompted me to communicate what I dreaded would be the conſequence, in the hope, that through you, they might contribute to confirm the honourable ſtand made by your friends Meſſrs. F—— and W——, who, I believe, ſee matters through the ſame medium that I do.

THE return of Mr. George Gray to Madras, from an embaſſy with which he was charged to Hyder Alli Cawn, with a variety of other circumſtances, do ſufficiently prove, that a native compact, of a very general extent, is concluded under the auſpices of four powerful ſtates, the Marrattas, Hyder Alli Cawn, the Nizam of the Deccan, and Nudjiff Cawn, repreſenting the Emperor and himſelf; that it is no longer meant to be concealed;

that perſons of oppoſite and inveterate principles, have thus aſtoniſhingly drawn together, and linked the chain of union; that the deſtructive ſtorm is gathering faſt, and ready to burſt on the heads of a deluded and devoted people, who are incapable of enjoying felicity with temper and moderation. However, the means perhaps might yet be found, in a ſpeedy and judicious application from the ſupreme board to one or other of the chief conductors of public affairs in Poonah or Seringapatnam, to reſcue the Britiſh reputation in Aſia from perdition.

You have heard me often predict, that the game was loſt irretrievably, unleſs the men and meaſures now in power in India were ſpeedily and exemplarily changed; to ſhew to the natives, that neither the Court of Directors, nor the adminiſtrators of Britain, were the authors, or even abettors of the unwarranted proceedings of the Company's principal ſervants abroad. If that doth not happen quickly

ly and effectually, Hyder will claim and obtain the obſervance of his late treaty with France; he will avail himſelf of the ſcattered ſtate of the Company's troops, the reduction of the Nabob's army, and the impoveriſhed ſtate of his finances and country, to revenge the infraction of the treaty of 1769 in 1770, and the hoſtility commenced by the Compay in 1766: and he will wreak his vengeance with redoubled fury on the Nabob, to whom he very properly imputes the whole of this conduct, equally unjuſt and unprovoked. This he never would have dared to attempt, if the Company's arms had not been engaged againſt the Marrattas, and had not the Marratta overtures to all the native ſtates ſucceeded in forming the deſired combination.

THE chief of this preſidency has at length declared in council, his fixed purpoſe of withdrawing, as the means to ſave his life; the bilious attack being more frequent and more dangerous.—He

has a competent portion of enemies here, many of whom are ſo, not from principle, but diſappointment, which they have not temper to conceal. If all that his foes impute to his ambition and avarice be true, he has judged wiſely and politically in withdrawing; becauſe, in the preſent diſtracted ſtate of the Britiſh nation, his preſence may be materially uſeful to ſecure his acquiſitions, ſince it is more than probable, that a parliamentary diſquiſition may extend as well to the adminiſtration of Madras as that of Bengal; although the conſequences and effects of the former are but as a mole-hill, compared to the mountain of enormities of the latter. Contrarily to every opinion which I have ever heard, I cannot but think that nature has been extremely liberal in endowing this chief with very powerful faculties; and that, if the charge of abuſe in reſpect to the natives were not juſt, he had capacity and firmneſs to do a great deal of good. I have ſpoken with freedom and candour to his ſucceſſor, recommending a line of

conduct the moſt likely to co-operate with the views of your friends, conſequently the true intereſts and ſecurity of the Company and the Britiſh nation; and as the means of removing any unjuſt ſuſpicions that may have been entertained of himſelf, in carrying on an illegal trade with the French. He has determined not to improve his fortune, during the period of his power, by any means but by the ſtrict legal emoluments of his ſtation. Sir Hector Munro preſerves his name and hands as immaculate and fair as you wiſh the perſon to do, for whom you entertain the moſt friendly ſentiments. I have ventured to inſinuate to him and Mr. Whitehill, that Hyder having confidence in Sir Hector's integrity, knowing that he does not pay court at the Chepauk Durbar, and knowing alſo, that Mr. W—— is not devoted to that palace, he will receive overtures for an accommodation and alliance through them, ſooner than through any other; but that the miniſterial plenipotentiary muſt be a perſon not known to

favour the Nabob; and that the aſſiſtant and interpreter ſhould be Mooda-Kiſtna: That all theſe meaſures may be ſecretly recommended, as a neceſſary political manœuvre, to the old Nabob.—Forgive this dry ſubject; it ſhews a deſire to converſe familiarly with you, even at a diſtance, and I cannot deviſe any other, though I know that it is one which you underſtand better than I do. Adieu.

P. S. Our day of departure is fixed for the 3d of April. I hope it will hold, for I am impatient to be gone.

LETTER LXIX.

To J—— M——, Efq; London.

Cape of Good Hope, Sept. 25, 1780.

I LEFT but two letters in Madras, to be forwarded over the ifthmus of Suez to Europe, and one of them was for you.

I EMBARKED on the evening of the 6th of April at Madras; and next day the fleet, confifting of four Indiamen under the convoy of three line of battle fhips, failed for Europe.—The fenior captain acting as commodore, under a diftinguifhing pendant, feemed watchful of his charge; but whether he was guided by his inftructions or by wrong information, after having croffed the equator, he fteered a courfe fo far to the eaftward of what

experience

experience and common reaſon had eſtabliſhed, that to this ſimple miſtake all the procraſtinations and loſs of ſeamen during the reſt of the paſſage is to be imputed *. The time waſted in regaining what we had thus loſt, would have carried us into the Cape of Good Hope, and we ſhould probably have avoided the ſtorm which diſabled the Rippon's main-maſt. Inſtead of making, or at leaſt approaching within ten or twenty leagues of the ſouth ſide of the iſland of Roderigue (by ſome called Diego Rays) our erroneous courſe led us about five degrees to the ſouth-eaſt of it; ſo that before we made the iſland of Madagaſcar, the crew of the Aſia man of war, who had been then about ſix years in conſtant ſervice in Ame-

* There ſhould be an underſtanding between the Admiralty and the Company, concerning the routes of convoys, both out and home; to be founded on the experience which the Company's navigators have had in theſe eaſtern ſeas, and contained in their private inſtructions from the Admiralty to their ſea commanders going to preſide in India.

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rica, Europe, and Aſia, were laid up, and dying faſt, of the ſea-ſcurvy, in ſpite of the judicious and humane exertions of Captain Vandeput to ſave them, by the uſe of his own freſh proviſions and liquors, keeping the ſhip aired, freſhening their water by air-pumps, and by every other act which his feelings as a man, and a ſtrict obſervance of duty in his ſtation, could dictate. Sir Thomas Rumbold was not wanting on his part, by ſending bountiful ſupplies of wines, and freſh proviſions from his own table, to them, from the ſhip in which he was paſſenger. When the fleet came to anchor in St. Auguſtin's bay on the 15th June, the Aſia had not a ſufficient ſtrength to manage her ſails; and the Rippon and Belliſle had near half their companies either dead or ſick in their hammocks.

THE evening of the 13th, ſailing along the ſouth-end of Madagaſcar, we had a narrow eſcape from loſing the fleet upon the *Star-bank*; but Captain Vandeput, by a fortunate

fortunate ſignal from the Aſia, diſcovered the poſition in which we were, which at length, by good fortune, operated (though after eight at night) upon the commodore, to tack and ſtand upon the other courſe; the only ſhip that had not obſerved the *night* ſignal, although the windwardmoſt and the beſt-ſailing ſhip belonging to the Company, with a fixed ſteady gale, and with every poſſible exertion, was found to be in a critical ſituation the next morning, and required the exerciſe of ſkill and firmneſs in the ſeamanſhip, and trimming her ſails. A few days thereafter, we were joined, in St. Auguſtin's bay, by four of the Company's homeward-bound China ſhips, and in a few days more by a fifth, which had ſprung a leak. Thoſe ſeamen belonging to his Majeſty's ſhips, whoſe diſorder had not already ſeized the vitals, ſoon recovered; the dry ſeaſon, and refreſhments, together with the aſſiduous attention of the captains and ſurgeons, produced rapid effects. Several little difficulties occurred in the negociations

gociations with the king and the people, which might have been attended with manifeſt inconveniences hereafter; but the good ſenſe and addreſs of Captain Vandeput and Captain Blanket, eaſily removed every obſtruction. Theſe gentlemen, upon true political principles, did not limit their views to the preſent occaſion; but always had in their eye the means of removing unfavourable impreſſions from the minds of the natives, in order to ſecure ſuccours and good treatment to ſuch Britiſh ſhips as ſhould, ſingly or in fleets, hereafter have occaſion to call for them.

AFTER much lingering, and waſting time, the fleet, now conſiſting of twelve large ſhips, took leave of Madagaſcar, to the inexpreſſible joy of all the paſſengers, on the 28th July, having been then ſix weeks at anchor in St. Auguſtin's bay. We proceeded with a fair wind, but were a good deal delayed by the ſlow ſailing of the Morſe and Norfolk, whoſe commanders endeavoured, by a preſſed ſail, to keep up, but they

they could not get to windward: Captain Elliot of the Morſe ſhewed evident ſuperiority in his profeſſion, and confirmed his general reputation of an artiſt; but he was unfortunate in diſplaying his ſkill on a veſſel which baffled his endeavours. Nor had he and the Norfolk fair play; for on the evening of the 4th Auguſt, they were a great diſtance to leeward, nor could they approach the fleet: the courſe and wind would have admitted of the fleet's bearing away one or two points towards them; but by ſome unaccountable conceit, at ſix o'clock in the duſk of the evening, without a ſignal being made, when thoſe ſhips could not perceive the change, the commodore hauled his wind, and thoſe who were near him did the ſame, thus enlarging the diſtance from the leeward ſhips, and deſtroying every probable hope of their joining the fleet again. Accordingly, they could not be ſeen from the top-gallant maſt-head the next morning. The Rippon was ordered to back her courſe, to

look

look out for ſhips that muſt now have been many leagues to leeward of her, inſtead of ſteering to the ſouth-weſt, the courſe in which they might have been intercepted, and reunited to the fleet. We made the land of Africa that evening, Cape Natal bearing north-weſt of us, diſtanced by little more than the width of Natal bay.—Here again we were thrown out of our right courſe by the falſe judgment, or fears, or perverſeneſs of our conductor. It has of late years been well underſtood by experienced navigators, that there is leſs riſk of encountering the ſtorms peculiar to thoſe ſeas, and that there is little danger of a lee-ſhore, by keeping the land of Africa cloſe on board, from Cape Natal to the Cape of Good Hope; and that a ſtrong current ſetting to the ſouth-weſt, generally favours navigation. But, unfortunately, without the preparative of a ſignal, on the evening of the 7th, the fleet ſtood out to ſea, whereby the Aſia, whoſe ſtation it was to bring up the rear, did not

perceive the motion, and by that means loſt the fleet; but which the active prudence and vigilance of Captain Vandeput remedied, and happily joined the fleet the next evening. Although the commodore had been cautioned on this head, by all the commanders of the Company's ſhips, who even communicated their journals to him, yet he perſevered in ſtanding out to ſea, until we entered into the tempeſtuous latitude; and on the 11th we encountered a very ſmart ſtorm. The ſtorm continuing, on the morning of the 13th we found ourſelves under the protection of the Aſia only; the Belliſle and Rippon, together with the Company's ſhip Talbot, being quite out of ſight. And as the ſea was more dreadful than the tempeſt, we were not without apprehenſions for the Belliſle, as by her form ſhe laboured exceedingly in the water, and ſome of her ſeams had been filled up with ſmall hawſers. The ſtorm abated on the 15th: on the 21ſt we were rejoined by the Morſe and Norfolk: on the 23d we were alſo rejoined by the Rippon,

carrying all the ſail ſhe could on the mizen and fore-maſts, having ſprung her main-maſt in the ſtorm : and the next day made Cape la Guilla's, and coaſted it, until we were joined, on the 25th, by the Belliſle and Talbot, under Penguin iſland, at the entrance of Table bay, where we anchored in the courſe of that night and next morning.

THE well-timed and judiciouſly applied addreſs, and ſuperior good ſenſe of Captain Vandeput and Captain Blanket, extricated the King's ſhips and the Company's, from difficulties into which the conduct of the commodore had precipitated them ; having indiſpenſable occaſion for maſts, ſpars, iron-work, cordage, and proviſions, to qualify them for the remaining part of the voyage.

CONTRARILY to the uniform uſage of all admirals, commodores, and captains of the Britiſh navy, touching for refreſhment at the Cape of Good Hope, ſince

the commencement of the Engliſh trade to India, although their inſtructions were ſilent upon the ſubject, Captain Barber declined to ſalute the citadel, where the colours of the Seven United Provinces were flying; he declined to pay a complimentary viſit to the governor; demanded ſupplies in a peremptory ſtile, menacing to obtain them by force, if not freely granted; refuſed obedience to the revenue laws of the country, in the examination of packages landed from his own ſhip; made his demands by writing in the Engliſh language, and refuſed to receive the anſwer, becauſe the direction of a letter, bearing the Dutch Eaſt India Company's armorial impreſſion, was in the language of the people, the Dutch, and returned it unopened to the council-board whence it was ſent, actually granting the ſupplies he had deſired; and he burnt a proteſt which was officially delivered to him, without reading it. Even the *private* mediation of Captain Vandeput and Captain Blanket, doth not take away from the merit which the go-

vernor

vernor and council have displayed in the great portion of moderation and consideration shewn, in accommodating both the King's ships and the Company's with every necessary which they had occasion for, notwithstanding the public and private insults which had been lavished upon them. Nor did their condescension appear to have proceeded from motives of fear, as their conduct throughout was spirited, steady, and just, and wisely and generously applying the measure to *the man*, and not the country which he represented by mere chance, not choice.

THE discontents which prevailed at the Cape, between the people and the government, when I was here before, I found, on my return, had broke out into disaffection, and a refractoriness bordering on hostilities. The people, suffering under the iniquitous and relentless oppression of the Company's government and tyranny, solicited redress by representations, and by

deputies, in vain; and at length openly deputed ſome of the principal perſons to lay the enormities and exactions open to the States General, for redreſs; and to be enfranchiſed from the ſervitude extorted by the Company's government.

AFTER unneceſſary procraſtinations, neglects, and delays, the ſignal for weighing at laſt was diſplayed on board the Belliſle, on the 12th October; and the fleet having been joined at the Cape by the Company's ſhip the Ceres, ſailed that day out of Table bay, with a fair ſteady gale; and arrived at St. Helena on the 29th October, where we found the Hannibal, Captain Caldwell, of fifty guns, and the Prothée, Captain Buckner, of ſixty-four guns, and the Company's ſhip Hawke, from Bombay.—The accompanying letter will furniſh you with my obſervations on the iſland and natives of Madagaſcar.

LETTER

LETTER LXX.

To J—— M——, Efq. London.

Cape of Good Hope, Oct. 1, 1780.

THE Ifland of Madagafcar needs no defcription, as it is well known to have been efteemed the fecond largeft ifland in the world, before the difcoveries made by the late able and ingenious navigator Captain Cooke, that New Holland, &c. were iflands. It lies under the latitude of 12° to 26° South, and between the 43° and 51° longitude, Eaft from London.

THE force of prejudice, even when founded upon the fabulous conceptions of illiterate and incurious feamen; and for the moft part upon the catch-penny voyages and fufferings, hatched in the brain of a garret compofer, of pirates and buccaneers, have overcome reafon and juftice, in

in imputing to the *aborigine* inhabitants of countries remote from Europe, ferociousness, barbarity, ignorance, stupidity, irreligion, and a complication of immoralities. These ideas are in truth rank and unjust prejudices. The opposite qualities belong more naturally to most of the remote nations, which are, by Europeans denominated savage.—The natives of Madagascar, and the Hottentots of the Cape of Good Hope, have been considered as possessing no one quality to distinguish them, except in figure and articulation, from the brute creation; and those of Madagascar as ferocious tygers.

The French are the only nation of Europe, who have attempted to make establishments on the island of Madagascar. They set out on their East-India system by attempting it; but after several years indefatigable perseverance and expence, the climate aided the steady resistance of the natives to destroy many thousand French subjects, and they gave up the contest.

About

About the year 1770, Count Benowſki, a Poliſh nobleman, of a bold and enterpriſing genius, having eſcaped from the exile to which he was ſent by the Empreſs of Ruſſia to Siberia, travelled thence to Kamſcatcka, and there built a kind of veſſel, in which he committed himſelf, and a few deſperate companions, ſteering along the coaſt until they arrived at Canton river in China, whence he took a paſſage to the French iſlands; and informed himſelf of many particulars relative to the natives &c. of Madagaſcar; and, following the natural bent of his own eccentric diſpoſition for atchievement and enterprize, when he came to France, he laid a plan before government, for reviving the idea of an eſtabliſhment in Madagaſcar. He was attended to; and was impowered to raiſe a regiment to conſiſt of 300 men, compoſed of all European nations and religions, and to be uniformed and accoutred according to his own mind. He choſe the Ruſſian livery, green, and the ſame kind of arms. He completed his

corps, was tranſported to Mauritius, and thence embarked for Fort Dauphin in Madagaſcar, to the command of the garriſon and ſettlement; having prevailed on a conſiderable number of civil ſettlers to follow his fortunes. He treated with the natives, who conſented to the forming of a ſettlement at a bay near the ſea ſide, but proſcribed his intruſions into the country. He had a ſtockaded fort and garriſon built, and huts to lodge his people, ſtores, and proviſions in. The inhabitants never moleſted him while he kept within the limits they had ſet to his dominion, and to the letter of their treaty. But the Count wanting to make roads into the country, they immediately oppoſed his progreſs, and hoſtilities commenced. This eſtabliſhment having been injudiciouſly formed on a low marſhy ground, or near it, his troops and ſettlers were dying faſt; diſcontents and murmurs ſprung up among themſelves; complaints were ſent to Mauritius, the ſupreme government; bickerings aroſe between the ſupreme chiefs of the

iſlands

iſlands and him; an appeal was made to the Court of Paris; and leave was given to the Count to come home. When he arrived in France, his conduct was diſapproved; and altho' he was not profeſſedly diſmiſſed from the ſervice and ſtations he held, his reception and treatment were tantamount thereto. It is ſaid, that he has had addreſs ſince to recommend himſelf into a reſpectable military ſtation in the ſervice of the Emperor of Germany. In October 1778, there were but four officers remaining in the iſland, and three under confinement for military offences; and about fifty privates and non-commiſſioned officers. All the ſettlers were dead.—Thus ended the eſtabliſhment, and the natives were inveterately hoſtile, even to private traders from the iſlands; a circumſtance very injurious, as they were ſupplied with rice and horned cattle, on reaſonable terms, and in abundance, from St. Mary's, Foul-point, and St. Antongil, large bays, which are oppoſite to the iſlands. The run down from Bourbon or Mauritius, to either of theſe

places,

places, is from two to five days; but the return is more tedious, by reafon of the trade wind and currents, which oblige them to ftretch far to the northward or fouthward, to be able to fetch the iflands.

Our fleet anchored in Auguftine Bay on the 14th and 15th of June. The natives foon came on board, and began a traffic with a judgment matured by experience. Their ingenuity is far below the medium in every mechanical art; but they are fufficiently knowing in bartering: fine bullocks as any in the world, fheep, goats, dunghill fowls, Guinea fowls, milk, and fuch vegetables as they raife in the proper feafons; for powder, balls, flints, mufkets, and fpirituous liquors, which are the ftaple of their commerce. On the N. N. E. and S. S. E. fides, they cultivate great quantities of an excellent rice, and have plantains, yams, limes, lemons, oranges, tamarinds, &c. in plenty. The largeft and cleareft cryftals of rock-falt in the world, are in the bowels of the earth

in this iſland. Their bays abound with fiſh, excellent in their kinds, together with moſt ſorts of ſhell-fiſh upon and under the rocks, and on the rivers. There is a wide field in the woods of this country, for naturaliſts to diſplay their faculties upon. The iſland is divided, it is ſaid by the inhabitants, into ſeven diſtinct kingdoms, each governed by its own king, who enjoys his authority and title by inheritance. Theſe princes commit hoſtilities in proper form; but it conſiſts in plundering and carrying off the horned cattle, and the priſoners are ſold to the French and Dutch traders as ſlaves. The men are of the middle ſize, clean made, agile, and active; they are bold and brave to a high degree, not able to brook an inſult, even from the higheſt ſuperior, which is not inſtantly reſented, either with the muſket or the lance. They are dexterous at throwing the lance; it is with a dart of the lance, from a conſiderable diſtance, that they kill their bullocks, which produces the moſt inſtantaneous death I ever

ever beheld; the dart enters near the ſhoulder, and the beaſt drops down in a moment. They are fond of ſpirituous liquors, and are apt to be riotous when drunk. They are a ſteady, judicious, penetrating people, and jealous of liberty; but in general they are not faithful to their engagements, ſo that it will be imprudent to advance before-hand, unleſs it be the uſual preſents to the king, and other chiefs. They proſtitute their women to ſtrangers, and often impoſe inferior ones as princeſſes, to enhance the premium. But the French on the Eaſt ſide, engage with the chiefs and princes for their daughters, by a weekly or monthly contract, during which time, they are not only diligent and attentive in preparing food, and in the houſehold affairs, but faithful in preventing any harm to them, or impoſitions in their dealings with other natives. They are much troubled with the venereal diſtemper, which doubtleſs was introduced by Europeans; but they have found a perfect and eaſy cure by

ſimples.

ſimples. For the moſt part they appear to be deſcendant of the Caffrés on the ſouth-eaſt of Africa, by their woolly hair, features, and complexions. There is a tract of country in the north-weſt quarter, the inhabitants of which are deſcended from the Arabs; and although that nation is almoſt continually at war with ſome of its neighbours, it is more than probable that their connection has extended to render the features of many leſs flat; but it is remarkable, that notwithſtanding the frequent intercourſe of their women with Europeans, I never ſaw a Mulatto or Meſtiff upon, or from Madagaſcar. I ſuſpect that ſuch progeny are not ſuffered to exiſt, from a political jealouſy.

I NEVER could learn that there are any wild ferocious beaſts in this iſland. There are alligators in all the rivers. They have a great many dogs and wild hogs. There are ſeveral ſpecies of wild ducks and geeſe in the iſland, which are not to be met with elſewhere; they are large and

beautiful.—I do not think that it is neceſſary to wiſh for an European eſtabliſhment on this iſland; becauſe, by eſtabliſhing prudent regulations, to be obligatory on the captains of ſhips, every want may be ſupplied, at a price and in a manner infinitely more eaſy and deſirable than if an European ſettlement was made upon it. Garden vegetables, ſuch as cabbages, turnips, carrots, and the like, is all that they have not to ſupply; and a little pains would bring them into the practice of raiſing theſe alſo. Good treatment, and a ſtrict obſervance of engagements on the part of Europeans, would ſoon inſpire the natives with a ſimilar diſpoſition and conduct.

As I had been reduced to the loweſt ſtate, and confined to my cabin for ſix weeks, by a bilious complaint, and incapable of digeſting any ſolid food, I had every reaſon to apprehend, that I ſhould leave my bones at Madagaſcar.—I found, however, a ſpeedy and effectual remedy on

this

this iſland: A ſtream of mineral water iſſues, at low water, out of a ſolid rock in the bay of St. Auguſtine, about one hundred yards north of the Tent Rock: at firſt, it produces a kind of dizzineſs like Bath water; but in leſs than a week, it effectually removed all bilious obſtructions. I uſed it all the way to the Cape of Good Hope, with continued effect: with a vigorous appetite I could dine upon the ſteak of a bullock that had been killed that ſame morning, without feeling any inconveniences from indigeſtion.—Beeves are excellent, weighing from five to eight hundred weight each, and the meat delicate, tender, and well-flavoured. Their ſheep have broad tails, like thoſe of Africa, and are as large.—The hoſpitality of this people, is a mark of their humane diſpoſition. A young gentleman went aſhore with one of them, the day after our arrival, in the canoe of the natives; but the evening-breeze and the ſtrong current of the tide, preventing their return, the man conducted him to his houſe. One of the princes

of

of the country, and a guardian to the minor king of Baba, viſited the ſtranger, and ſupped with them, inviting him to his own houſe: a Guinea fowl was killed, and dreſſed after their manner, for his ſupper: the hoſt and his wife lay upon the ground, and the ſtranger was made to ſleep upon their own bed. We met with various other inſtances of a natural hoſpitality. And it was eaſily perceived, that they could diſtinguiſh between perſons who deſerved reſpect, from thoſe who did not, in their conduct, and ſelection of the captains of the men of war from each other.

LETTER LXXI.

To J—— M——, Efq; London.

St. Helena, Nov. 5, 1780.

YOU will be fo unreafonable, I fuppofe, as to require a defcription of a place, which the unjuft partiality of perfons in the Eaft India Company's fervice, have reprefented as a perfect paradife. — On general topics, I would be ready to yield to the opinions of the multitude; but upon this occafion, fatisfied and confirmed in the propriety of my own fentiments, I cannot fubfcribe to reprefentations which are contradicted by all human faculties, and by common fenfe.

THE ifland of St. Helena, which appears to have arifen above the furface of the great Atlantic ocean, by an erup-

 tion,

tion, or convulſion of nature, in the latitude of 16 degrees ſouth, and 6 of weſt longitude from London, is compoſed of one entire rock of a circular figure, and meaſures about twenty-four miles in circumference. That the whole iſland has undergone a conflagration, is beyond a doubt; the interior maſs of ſolid rock ſhews, that it has yielded to the force of fire, and has been diſſolved; in which waving figure, after the fire was extinguiſhed, the horizontal veins or ſtrata remained hardened, as glaſs, when on the verge of becoming liquid, bends by heat to its own weight, and retains that form if the fire is withdrawn, and even loſes its lucid quality. The parts neareſt the ſurface reſemble the ordinary lava emitted from volcanos; the ſtrata of mould or loam, which were burnt to aſhes, in many places retain the original appearance and colour of aſhes; and thoſe of clay retain their ſtations with the firineſs of burnt bricks in the firſt or ſecond ſtrata. The eminences, if placed upon a continent or large

large iſland, would bear the name of hills; but upon ſo circumſcribed a baſe as St. Helena, they claim that of mountains. There is ſcarce a flat of a dozen acres in the iſland; and for the moſt part, it has been difficult to find a plain extenſive enough to build a houſe and offices upon. The thin ſurface or ſoil upon the rocks, is looſe and light; but of a kind and vegetative quality, if bleſt with ſeaſonable ſhowers, and aided with a little manure, of which they have plenty upon the iſland in a very rich marle, both white and blue: I do not find that the inhabitants have diſcovered the uſe of it; I perceived it on the high road, and put two pieces in my pocket, to examine the quality on my return to town; and when I mentioned its excellence, it did ſeem as if they underſtood me not. There is now but one ſpring remaining, from which ſhips can be ſupplied with water; and even that is ſo inſignificant, that they are obliged to collect a body of the water in a large reſervoir, to await the arrival of the Com-

 pany's

pany's ſhips. There are but two places where it is poſſible to land; they are at oppoſite ſides of the iſland, and both are moſt powerfully fortified; that to windward is too dangerous a navigation to be hazarded by any ſhips; and the other to leeward, which is at the metropolis, would prove a dangerous undertaking, not only from a number of batteries moſt judiciouſly and ſkilfully arranged, but from the difficulty of ſecuring anchorage upon the bank, which is narrow, and near to the ſhore; becauſe the current being ſtrong, if the anchor is dropt upon or near the edge of it, the ſhip will drive, and fall to leeward in an inſtant, ſo as to render it a laborious and tedious buſineſs to regain the iſland.—Excluſive of the inhabitants, which, comprehending all ſexes, ages, and complexions, may be two thouſand four hundred (chiefly ſlaves) there are from five to ſix hundred regular troops, maintained by the Company; and as they even ſend, in the annual ſtore-ſhip, moſt of the neceſſaries of life from Europe,

rope, if they are not brought at the Company's expence from India, China, and the Cape, its annual charges, for ſeveral years laſt paſt, may be computed, on an average, at thirty thouſand pounds; while at the ſame time it yields no benefit to the Company, or to their navigation, except as a place of rendezvous. Of late years, the iſland has been ſo ſubject to continual droughts, that it has not been able to yield any refreſhing ſuccours to the ſhipping; even the water is become ſcanty. The cattle have periſhed of famine, and the gardens ſcarcely produce vegetable food for the inhabitants. In ſhort, it cannot ever be an object of conqueſt for the enemies of Britain, unleſs in a war with Holland. The temporary conqueſt of it by the Dutch would diſtreſs the Britiſh commerce. And if the troops and people of St. Helena were ſituated upon any fertile ſpot upon the continent, the Company's ſhips would benefit by the change, and the ſettlers would enjoy the ſweets of their induſtry. I cannot but imagine, that by exploſions

 with

with powder, undermining the rocks where the main ſpring riſes, the concuſſion would probably divert the current of the water, and in that caſe, the iſland would not be habitable. At preſent, it appears to be a uſeleſs incumbrance to the Company, and a perpetual priſon, threatening lingering death by famine to the inhabitants.

I EMBARKED laſt evening, and the ſignal for weighing is now hoiſted.

LETTER

LETTER LXXII.

To J—— M——, Efq; London.

Dublin, Jan. 29, 1781.

I TOOK leave of you on the 5th November, in the road of St. Helena, with the fignal for failing difplayed on board his Majefty's fhip Bellifle, with eleven of the Company's fhips, efcorted by five capital fhips of war.

To give you a comprehenfive idea of the whole paffage, without defcending to particulars, as a paffenger, it may be deemed fufficient for me to fay, that *chance*, not *conduct*, hath brought this valuable fleet in fafety to a Britifh port. It is the duty of the Company's immediate fervants to lay their journals, together with their opinions, before their

employers, not with a view of remedying the paſt, but to guard againſt future error and miſconduct.

On the 12th day of November, we ſailed cloſe to the iſland, or rather the cinder mountain, of Aſcenſion, ſo famous for the ſalutary refreſhment it affords in the proper ſeaſon, to voyagers, by an abundance of turtle, which are eſteemed ſuperior in flavour and ſize to any others, and for the quantities of fiſh and birds which it furniſhes in profuſion. It yields no other ſupply; for want of ſoil, it is incapable of throwing up graſs; nor is there any ſtream of water upon it that I know of, although I have been informed by a French gentleman, that at a conſiderable diſtance inland from the common landing-bay, he ſaw a very pretty ſpring, whence a ſtream of pure water flowed.

We were fortunate in carrying a fair wind along with us into ſoundings, near the entrance of the Engliſh channel, on

the ſixth day of the preſent year. But alas! a ſucceeding calm terminated in a contrary wind on the ſame evening, which induced us to direct our courſe for Ireland, without any effort to ſtretch into the channel. By miſtaking even this plain courſe, although the wind was favourable for any port in Ireland, we ſteered ſo wide of the right mark, that the next morning we could not ſtand up for the Shannon, nor for Corke; but puſhed in to the little harbour of Crookhaven, near Cape Clear, upon the 7th inſtant.—Thus I arrived in the Britiſh dominions, after ſuffering the ſeverities of three winters in one year; one in January in Bengal; another after croſſing the line, in Auguſt, at the Cape of Good Hope; and a third in December laſt, after recroſſing the line, at the entrance of the channel.

THE hoſpitality of the gentlemen of this nation having long been proverbial, I anticipated the pleaſures which, in my hurried excurſion, I was to enjoy; but

deſcription

defcription hath fallen fhort of the hofpitality, liberality, and humanity, to which I can *now* bear teftimony. I enjoyed a happy introduction to that uncommon civility, characteriftic of the people of condition in Ireland, by means of the favourable opinion, and virtuous confidence, of two amiable fellow-paffengers, who had entrufted to my endeavours on this journey, a charge, in the care of themfelves and their children. The genteel appearance and deportment of both, and the fuperior fenfe, addrefs, and converfation of one, would have proved irrefiftible inducements, in a country lefs diftinguifhed for polite affiduity to oblige the fair fex than this, to beftow on thefe ladies every mark of refpect and attention; but it would be unjuft to infinuate even this confideration, as a motive for actions which, I am fure, originated in nature.

Having lefs influence to procure a boat to Crookhaven, than the fmallnefs of the village and the numbers to be accommodated

accommodated in it, rendered necessary; it was late before a country conveyance did me that favour at the price of a dollar. After diving into several mean houses, chance directed my steps to the second house in the place. Sir T. R. having been the first to land, secured the best quarters for himself and family, with the surveyor of the customs. I made my wishes known to the wife of the deputy surveyor, whose husband was absent on custom-house service in Corke. She consented to accommodate myself and an old gentleman, but declared against ladies, who (she said) were not to be pleased: I assured her, that the ladies ~~which~~ whom I would have the honour to introduce into her house, were so amiable and affable, that they would compel her to change her opinion of her own sex. She, however, persisted in her negative. The clergyman of the village, who boarded and lodged in the house, a truly good man, being present, with his landlady's daughter, I made

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my addreſſes alternately to the daughter and mother, and attacked the reverend old clergyman, in a ſtyle adapted to his holy function, and intereſted both his feelings and the ſelf-importance of the daughter in my ſuit; until, after long pleadings and rejoinders, the good lady agreed to receive my fair fellow-paſſengers:—and in a few days, ſhe did them the juſtice to tell me repeatedly, that ſhe never again would judge ſo injuriouſly of ſtrangers, becauſe her preſent lodgers were too good, even better than I had repreſented them. The honeſt clergyman, who was as full of goodneſs as he was of learning, was alſo full of expreſſions of eſteem and ſatisfaction; and took leave with the tendereſt reſpect, when a chaiſe arrived from Corke, on the 14th, at the oppoſite ſide of the bay, to receive the two ladies and their four children.

My miſtaken liberality to the poſtillion, was productive of ſerious alarms, and might have terminated in a melancholy

 cataſtrophe.

cataſtrophe.—He had neglected his horſes, but not himſelf; for, being overcome with liquor, he was incapable of conducting them. There were many ſteep paſſes in the firſt ſtage, and the firſt one led by a precipice which hung ſuſpended, many paces perpendicularly, over the ſea. When he came to this ſpot, the famiſhed, fatigued horſes, were unable to draw the carriage, and the poſtillion, under the influence of liquor, inſtead of coaxing them up, beat and puſhed them, until, in the very middle of the bank, they gave way. Apprehenſive of danger, I rode cloſe behind the carriage, when happily, on the turn of the off-wheel, it was ſtopt by the hind-quarter of my horſe; I ſeized the other wheel with my hand, and by chance dexterity, not ſtrength, gave it a turn which gave a footing to the carriage, and eaſe to the yielding horſes; and by that means, the whole were ſaved from precipitating into the ſea. I held my horſe to ſuſtain the wheel, and the weight of the carriage,

until

until I could alight, and was able to lodge a pretty large ſtone under each wheel, and then, letting go my horſe, I run to the upper ſide of the chaiſe, and, without much ceremony, pulled out the affrighted ladies and the four children. Thus ſecure and happy, I took out the reſtiff horſe, and without the uſe of a whip, coaxed one horſe only to pull up the empty chaiſe.—After a ſhort reſpite, the ladies and children reſumed their ſtations in the carriage; but had not gone far, when the drunken poſtillion again run the chaiſe into a deep gutter on the ſide of an eminence, and nearly overſet it. — After diſengaging my companions a ſecond time, and calling the aid of about a ſcore of country peaſants, we again got to a level road.—The ladies entreated me to return, and I urged to paſs on, becauſe we were near to the houſe of the reverend Dr. Townſend, where I would venture to introduce them, though I had only had the pleaſure of being once in his com-

pany.

pany. After walking until they were out of breath, I prevailed on them to go into the chaiſe; but upon condition that I ſhould not ſeparate myſelf from its ſide; the drunken poſtillion having poſitively refuſed to let me drive the chaiſe, and to ride my horſe. In this poſition we encountered a private chaiſe and four horſes.—I was determined to accoſt thoſe who were in it, for relief to my fellow-travellers, when happily I beheld the worthy old gentleman, Dr. Townſend. I went up to him, and without ceremony, after felicitating my company, I told him my ſituation. He threatened our poſtillion in his magiſterial capacity; and upon expreſs condition that we ſhould go to his houſe and paſs the night, he detached his principal ſervant and beſt pair of horſes from his own chaiſe, harneſſed them to ours, requeſted a gentleman (Mr. Jermyn of ~~Mill[illegible]~~) to conduct us to his houſe, and introduce us to his lady, promiſing to follow us in half an hour; thus conferring a twofold obligation on

on us, ſo as we ſhould not feel the weight of either. My amiable fellow-travellers, with uplifted eyes and hands, enjoyed the ſweet relief, and bleſt the liberal and hoſpitable mind of the Doctor, and his brother, a commiſſioner of the cuſtoms, who accompanied him in the chaiſe, and who ſhewed an equal deſire to accommodate us. We arrived at the Doctor's houſe, and were firſt received by a moſt agreeable young gentleman, Mr. Robertſon, the Doctor's nephew, who was alſo in orders. An excellent cold dinner, and choice liquors, were ſet before us, together with a chearful fire, and a bountiful welcome.—Mrs. Townſend ſoon appeared; and although infirm, diſcovered a genteel mien and converſation, and was a juſt repreſentation of an hoſpitable and ſocial huſband. The Doctor and his niece returned within the promiſed time, and three hearty genteel neighbours ſoon joined us. After an elegant ſupper, a chearful glaſs, and the eſſence of jollity, at two o'clock in the morning we ſeparated into our reſpective

ſpective apartments; and after breakfaſt next morning, we parted from a family whoſe goodneſs will ever remain imprinted on our minds.—I enjoyed the praiſes that had been liberally beſtowed on my fair fellow-travellers, by every perſon.

WE experienced the moſt polite hoſpitality at Skibberton, from Mr. Jermyn, where Mrs. Wright (the collector's lady, and the ſiſter of Dr. Townſend) came in perſon to Mr. Jermyn's, to invite us to her houſe. We proceeded, without further interruption, except from the officers of exciſe, to Corke.—There the mayor, Mr. Carleton, and his lady and nephew, ſhewed us every mark of attention. The ſecond day we proceeded on our journey for Dublin, young Mr. Carleton having previouſly written to his houſe, to have lodgings ready for our reception.

IT was a pleaſing ſurpriſe to me, to find throughout the road, accommodations and entertainment which would be thought reſpectable on the principal roads of England.

land. The country appeared deſtitute of that cultivation which diſtinguiſhes the regions of freedom. Although it is, for the moſt part, of a turfy or peat quality, yet it is capable of high improvement, particularly by draining; and I doubt not, but a few years, under the happy ſtate of freedom which they now enjoy, and which they ſhould have had long before, will exhibit the happy effects of this bleſſing, by adding largely to the wealth, commerce, power, and population of the Britiſh nation. Then we ſhall ſee diſplayed the tranſcendent virtues which are inſeparable from political liberty: the civilization, induſtry, and ingenuity of the common people, who are as yet more rude and impoſing, than any Indian, American, or African nation I have ever had occaſion to ſee; and a flouriſhing change on the face of a country, capable of receiving every improvement which huſbandry, arts, and canals can produce. A very diſtinguiſhing proof of this opinion occurred upon the road. The

 evening

evening of the ſecond day after our departure from Corke, I was all at once ſo ſenſibly ſtruck with the incloſures by walls, fences, and ditches, the ſubſtantial neat farm-houſes and offices, and the leſs indigent garbs, and diffuſive contentment which appeared in the people, that I obſerved to Mrs. M——t, the lady in whoſe company I had then the honour to ſit, that the proprietor of the lands over which we were travelling, was a munificent and good landlord; and that, if I could ſuppoſe that *Lord Cahir* poſſeſſed any part of that county or province, I ſhould, from the high commendations which I had heard of that great and generous nobleman's conduct, as a ſubject, as a maſter, and as a man, conclude that we were at that inſtant travelling through his eſtate. We entered a town very ſoon thereafter, where plenty and tranquillity were ſignalized in every object which preſented itſelf to our view. We ſtopt to breathe the horſes at a handſome inn; I called for ſome cakes for the chil-

 dren,

dren, which were brought by a handſome, genteel, well-dreſſed landlady: I aſked the name of the place? She ſaid, "*Cahir.*" I aſked to whom the ſurrounding eſtate belonged? "To *Lord Cahir.*"—My fair, ſenſible companion, after expreſſing a ſurpriſe, repeated what I had ſaid about an hour before. The landlady poured forth his Lordſhip's praiſe in the groſs As I had had the honour of being a little known to his Lordſhip, and his brother, Mr. T. Buttler, I begged the landlady to deliver a meſſage to his Lordſhip, concerning a relation in the Eaſt: ſhe ſaid ſhe would; but that my Lord would be very glad to ſee me, or any lady or gentleman who was travelling. I had always admired the exalted character which my Lord Cahir was eminent for in England, and in France; but I was at this time impreſſed with ſentiments of veneration for him, and only lamented that he was not ſo young, as to give hopes of his living as an example to others, for the benefit and happineſs of all, for fifty years to come.

THE

THE partiality of a worthy friend having introduced me handſomely to Mr. Longfield, the member for the city of Corke, whoſe mind is as independent and unincumbered as his fortune, as well as to the Mayor of that city; and having had the honour of being formerly known to Lord Carhampton, Sir John Blaquiere, and Sir Richard Heron; the only cauſe of regret I could poſſibly have in Dublin, was, that I could not paſs ſix or eight weeks in it. The juſt and independent principles of Mr. Longfield, and the liberal uſe to which he applied a clear annual revenue, exceeding 10,000 l. procured him a choice of conſtituents and of friends.

IT was pleaſing to hear the great orators and geniuſes of this nation, ſpeak the true language of pure patriotiſm, with arguments and energy which are irreſiſtible, and which carry conviction to every heart. It was not the inflammatory language of men ſoured by diſappointment. It was not an effort to remove thoſe *who were in,*

 in

in order to ſucceed to their places; they were the glowing expreſſions which iſſued from the unaffected feelings of patriotic virtue. It is a pleaſure to look forward to the field that is opening to receive the improvement and ingenuity of the moſt learned men, and the greateſt geniuſes in Europe. It is not to benefit Ireland only that theſe ſenators ſtand forth: in every word which they utter, in their martial garbs, and in their voluntary aſſociations, they breathe true loyalty to the extended Britiſh empire.—They are jealous of honor, and out of the way of corruption. To render them as uſeful as they are diſpoſed to be, they ſhould receive impartial and unbounded confidence; and they never will betray it. The public buildings, the private houſes, the new ſtreets, the ſquares, the finiſhings, the furniture, and the entertainments in Dublin, are elegantly modern. Our obligations to the family of Mr. Carleton of Corke, cannot be deſcribed; civilities were heaped upon us by his nephews, niece,

and

and ſiſter-in-law, in Dublin; and they afforded me an opportunity of being acquainted with his ſon, Mr. Carleton, the ſolicitor-general of Ireland. But to particularize the proofs of kindneſs we received among a people juſtly celebrated for their hoſpitality, though not an unpleaſing, were an endleſs taſk. As I am to embark in the packet at one o'clock in the morning, I ſhall bid you adieu, until we meet in London about a week hence.

APPENDIX [A.]

THE original ſtock of the Dutch Eaſt-India Company conſiſted of 2100 ſhares, at 3000 florins * each : they afterwards encreaſed the number of ſhares to 2130, without advancing the ſtock proportionably; ſo that the original ſtock of 6,300,000, florins divided into 2130 ſhares, valuing each ſhare at 3000 florins, increaſes the eſtimation of the capital to 6,390,000 florins. Their ſingular good fortune in ſtepping, without loſs or expence, into all the Portugueſe ſettlements and fortifications in Aſia, except Goa and Damain; the rich prizes made of Portugueze ſhips; the juſtice rendered by their agents abroad to their conſtituents at home; and the enormous advantages ariſing from their unconſcionable oppreſſive treaties with the princes of Java and Ceylon, together with the ſuperior influence which the intire property of cinnamon, cloves, mace, nutmegs, and two-third parts of the pepper trade of India, have indiſpenſably yielded to them in Aſia, at one time raiſed the value of their ſtock to 650 per cent. thus encreaſing their capital of 6,300,000 to 40,950,000 florins. From this mag-

* Each florin of Holland, according to the par of ſilver, is worth 22d. ſterling nearly—but the courſe of exchange varies according to the fluctuations of trade, &c.

nitude,

nitude, avarice, and an ill-judged ſeverity exerciſed over their allies or dependants, and a falſe parade of dignity in Batavia, &c. exceeding that of any crowned head in Europe, have reduced their ſtock from 340 to 355 per cent. A ſtill deluſive and pernicious eſtimation, which, by dividing the principal inſtead of the profits, together with various other concurring circumſtances, muſt, at length, lay them proſtrate, as bankrupts and delinquents, at the feet of the States General; who will then be as little capable of ſuſtaining them, as of upholding their own credit.

The benefit arising from the sale of cloves, cinnamon, mace, nutmeg, and pepper, will appear from the following distinct calculation, viz.

	lb. wt.	Florins.	Sale in India.		lb. wt.	Florins.	S. in Europe.	Gen. Sale.
They sell Cloves in India	150,030	at 5 : 0	750,000	in Europe.	350,000	at 5 : 0	1,750,000	2,500,000
Nutmegs in d°	100,000	at 2 : 16	280,000		250,000	at 3 : 15	937,500	12,175,000
Mace d°	10,000	at 6 : 8	64,000		100,000	at 6 : 8	640,000	704,000
Cinnamon d°	200,000	at 5 : 5	1,050,000		400,000	at 5 : 6	2,100,000	3,150,000
Pepper d°	3,500,000	at 30 per ct.	1,050,000		5,000,000	at 50 per ct.	2,500,000	3,550,000
Current Guilders of Holland			f. 3,194,000				f. 7,927,500	f. 11,121,500

Equal in British money to 299,437 l. 10s. in India; and in Europe to 743,223 l. 19 s. 2 d.; making the general sale to amount to 1,042,661 l. 9 s. 2 d.

From bad cinnamon they extract a rich oil, which they either sell to great account, or by presents, answer all the purposes of money in their political engagements with native princes *.

It is computed, that as the following are the average costs of these spiceries, the profits annexed to each species, arise to the Company from the sale, viz.

	Quantity.	Cost & Charges.	Gr. Cost.	Profit.	Where produced.
	lb. wt.	Florins.	Florins.	Florins.	
Cloves	500,000	at 2 3 per lb.	1,075,000	1,425,000	Amboyna.
Nutmegs	350,000	at 1 5 d°	437,500	780,000	Banda Isles.
Mace	110,000	at 2 14 d°	297,000	407,000	Banda Isles.
Cinnamon	600,000	at 0 6 d°	180,000	2,970,000	Ceylon.
Pepper	8,500,000	at 0 18 per cent.	1,530,000	2,020,000	Java chiefly.
			f. 4,219,500	f. 5,502,000	

		£.	s.	d.
By this calculation it appears, that the grofs fale of fpiceries doth amount annually to — — — —	f. 11,121,500 or fterl.	1,042,661	9	2
That of thefe they fell or barter in India, by reafon of which they have the exclufive power of influencing markets — —	f. 3,194,000 ——	299,437	10	—
That the reft is fold in Europe, and becomes almoft a clear remittance, and nearly a clear balance againft the other European nations who confume it — — — —	f. 7,927,500 ——	743,223	19	2
That the firft coft and charges, paid generally in merchandize, are —	f. 4,219,500 ——	395,578	2	6
That confequently there is a gain, exclufive of the gain on the merchandize bartered for them, of — — —	f. 5,902,000 ——	515,812	10	—

* It is fuppofed that Ceylon yields a million pounds of cinnamon annually; and as the half only is fold, the reft is deftroyed, in order to keep up the price.

Let

Let any minifter of a commercial nation, revolve this recapitulated view of the Dutch Eaft India Company's trade in his mind, and draw all the conclufions which fuch a manufacturing nation as Britain, would derive from it, and it will furnifh an extenfive field for political fpeculation.

It is not only prefumable, but certain, that the merchandize given in barter for many, or all of thefe goods, has borne a confiderable profit; and that the other commodities extorted under value from the people of Ceylon and Java, and refold to very great advantage in India, will render the remittance in fpiceries to Europe the only gain and clear remittance belonging to the Company; or that the eftablifhments neceffary (according to the Dutch fyftem) to command the monopoly of thefe commodities in Amboyna, Banda, Java, and Ceylon, being deducted out of this remittance of 7,927,500 florins, the furplus will be equal to all the other exorbitant charges appertaining to their fettlements, leaving a balance of 3,500,000 florins, which is a high eftimation of the annual profits of the Company.

The Company's capital in India, &c. comprehending their fhipping, goods, good and bad debts, provifions, ordnance, all kinds of warlike ftores and ammunition, plate, and cattle, exclufive of territorial properties, are computed not to exceed — —	f. 47,000,000

They

	Brought over	47,000,000
They owe in Europe 11,250,000, which doubtlefs bears an intereft of 3 ½ per cent. per annum, or	f. 393,750	
They owe in Afia 7,000,000, where the intereft is feldom under 10 per cent. per ann.; or, thefe two principal debts added make —	f. 700,000	18,250,000
		28,750,000
The furplus 28,750,000, being a real advance out of the original gains of the Company, will bear 8l. 13s. 5d. per cent.	f. 2,406,250l.	
The annual grofs profit, by eftimation	f. 3,500,000	
Of this furplus (28,750,000) it is prefumable, and indeed confidently believed, that bad and doubtful debts and dead effects will confume — —		f. 15,250,000
The real commercial or moveable effects of the Company will therefore be — — —		*f.* 13,500,000

The eftablifhed prime value of 2130 fhares of the Company's ftock, at 3000 florins each, being 6,390,000, bearing a proportion of *f.* 211: *5s.* *4d.* per

per cent. to their real commercial or moveable capital of 13,500,000 florins, which is *f.* 138. 14*s.* 8*d.* ſhort of its current value, at *f.* 350 per cent. according to which they divide; it is therefore evident, that even without reſerving prudential allowances for caſual loſſes and charges, wars, &c. they are injudiciouſly dividing a *fixed* proportion of their capital annually, as a real, although in fact an imaginary and deluſive profit. As the ſtocks of public companies riſe in their prices, in exact proportion to the intereſt that is divided, or in proportion to the equal increaſe of capital and intereſt; and as, in every country, the uſe of money bears a certain fixed value, in proportion to the reputation of the ſecurity; if therefore the Dutch Eaſt India ſtock be eſtimated at *f.* 138. 14*s.* 8*d.* per cent. more than the intrinſic value of their capital, it muſt follow, that exceſſive dividends alone originated, and have ſupported that falſe, or nominal value; and conſequently, that they have been in the baſe practice of dividing as a profit, from 4½ to 5 per cent. annually, out of the real capital. A conduct, which, by a progreſſive calculation, will conſume the entire capital in about fourteen or fifteen years, without the aid of a variety of other evils and enormities, which haſten that event, as well as the annihilation of the Company.

The 23,000,000 florins, ſaid by themſelves to have been expended in the eſtabliſhment of the Cape of Good Hope, of which *f.* 10,000,000 may moderately be ſtated as an irretrievable loſs; the *f.* 15,250,000 of doubtful and bad debts, and dead effects; and the over-rating of their capital, above its true eſtimation, *f.* 2,475,000 (making together *f.* 27,725,000) added to the real com-

mercial

mercial and moveable capital, *f.* 13,500,000, fully accounts for the former riſe of their original capital to 650 per cent. and at the ſame inſtant avows, that in proportions conſiderably leſs offenſive, than thoſe which have either enhanced their expences, or reduced their profits, their deſtruction is inevitable, *if they do not wiſely and ſpeedily adopt the only rational means of evading it.*

APPENDIX

APPENDIX [B.]

OBSERVATIONS on Mr. SMITH's "Nature and Caufes of the Wealth of Nations;" on a curfory reading thereof, at the Cape of Good Hope, in Africa, April 1779.

Vol. I. p. 39.

MR. SMITH fays, "That labour alone, *never varying in its own value*, is *alone* the ultimate ftandard by which the value of all commodities can at all times and places be eftimated and compared. It is their *real price*; money is their *nominal* price only.

OBSERVATIONS.

Since all nations have at length concurred in reducing the labour and ingenuity of men to a value, and fixed gold and filver, when ftamped by authority, as the intermediate vehicle or mark of univerfal exchange, and thence a ftandard to regulate the value of labour, may not this be confidered as a mere commercial commodity, equally liable to fluctuation as many

many others, according to local circumstances, the prices of the necessaries of life, and the commercial demand?

P. 40. He observes, "That college-leases, by statute, are payable one-third in corn, at the current market-price, or in kind. And that this third is *now* become near double the value of what arises from the remaining two-thirds reserved in money. This (Mr. Smith calls) *sinking* the old money-rents to a quarter-part of their ancient value."

Although ancient money-rents are not more than a quarter-part of what the same lands *now* rent for, yet, may it not be more properly said to arise, not from *sinking the old money-rents*, but, from evident causes, *increasing* the value of corn, and the necessaries of life, the consequence of arts and improvements, and particularly of luxury?—The increase of luxury having increased the wants of land-holders, they have proportionably exacted greater rents; and these exactions have obliged tenants and sub-tenants to advance, in an equal degree, the prices of their commodities; which, falling heavy on the common necessaries of labourers, have advanced, in the same proportion, the price

price of labour. Thus *money* might have retained its original weight, quality, intrinsic value, and currency; but the fluctuation of the *necessaries* of life hath claimed a larger quantity thereof, to keep pace with the labours of the husbandman, and artist. But, may there not have been a coincidence, the one decreasing in its value, as the other increased in demand, and both from natural and unconnected causes?

P. 85. He says, "That the money price of labour is higher in America than in Britain, and provisions cheaper; yet, that the *real* price of labour is also higher in America; its *real* price, the *real* command of the necessaries and conveniences of life, which it conveys, must be still higher in a greater proportion."

This, I conceive, with submission, to be a kind of contradiction of his former principles, as well as of the immediate assertion.— If provisions are cheaper, cloathing *only* can be understood to be dearer; yet linen and woollen drapery, imported from Britain, have been retailed in America for less than in Britain. The low value of land, the encouragement presented to

to ſettlers, and a natural love of freedom and independence, are the probable cauſes of the high price of labour in America.

P. 86. He ſays, "That population in Britain and Europe, doubles only in 500 years."

One would wiſh to believe, that this is an erroneous computation. Britain, freed from war, emigration, the pernicious extenſion of the city of London, and monopolies of farms, its population would increaſe in near the ſame proportion as in America. Throughout thoſe ſtates in Europe where the Romiſh faith prevails, population decreaſes by the evident conſequences of impolitic conſtitutions, and the want of manufactures, by the rigour of religious tenets, and by wars. In the northern kingdoms, Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, where induſtry, peace, navigation, and commerce are encouraged, without the advantages of coloniza-

P. 99. Mr. Smith, with great penetration, defines the ſeveral conditions of the *great body of the people* thus, "The condition of the labouring poor is moſt happy in the *progreſſive* ſtate of the ſociety, hard in the *ſtationary* ſtate, and miſerable in the *declining* ſtate. In all the different orders of the ſociety, the *progreſſive* ſtate is hearty and chearful, the *ſtationary* is dull, and the *declining melancholy*."

 tion,

tion, population increaſes rapidly, notwithſtanding the intemperature of climate and ſterility of ſoil.

P. 201. He attributes "the want of ſtrength and form in the labouring people in Scotland, compared with the ſame claſs in England, to the difference of bread food, or, between oaten-bread and wheaten-bread."

Should it not rather be imputed to the quantity of animal or fleſh-food, and ſtrong beer, which Engliſh labourers eat and drink plentifully, and the Scots but ſparingly, or very ſeldom?

P. 202. He ſays, "That as it is difficult to preſerve potatoes, the fear of not being able to ſell them before they rot, is the chief obſtacle to their *ever* becoming the principal vegetable food of all the different ranks of people."

Query. — Whether by kiln-drying, potatoes would not keep long, without either rotting or loſing their nutritive quality? Or, might they not be ground to meal or flour, and preſerved by hard packing?

P. 244. He ſays, "That the nominal ſum which conſtitutes the market-price of every commodity, is neceſſarily

This is an aſſertion againſt practice and experience. It is the value which the government of every country ſets

neceſſarily regulated, not ſo much by the quantity of ſilver, which, according to the ſtandard, *ought to be contained in it*, as by that which, it is found by experience, *actually is contained in it*.

ſets upon its current coin, and the proportion thereof to the exchange with other countries, operating in the way of commerce, that conſtitutes its price: for example, in Holland, the ſilver and copper coins current by tale and authority, are not intrinſically worth three fourth parts of their current value; yet with that baſe inferior compoſition, a bill of exchange upon London is bought, with which guineas are commanded, worth twenty-one ſhillings on any exchange or in any mint in Europe.

Mr. Smith would ſeem, in my humble opinion, to treat the real and nominal prices of labour, and of current coins, throughout, too philoſophically; which, in reality, the ſubjects will not admit of.—Philoſophy had very little ſhare in their eſtabliſhment. Commerce was a more active agent.—The value

lue of coins is upheld by authority; and the prices of labour and ingenuity are eſtimated by the prices of the common neceſſaries of life in the firſt inſtance; by the conſumption in luxuries and parade *at home*, in the ſecond; and, principally, by the balance of trade, which guides the rate of exchange with other nations, in the third inſtance. In Britain, the value of a pound ſterling, or of a penny, by either of which the exchanges with Europe are aſcertained, fluctuating according to the immediate demand for remittances, are founded upon the ſale of its manufactures, and the commodities of its colonies and ſettlements in America and Aſia, or by the exceſſes of its ſupplies from other ſtates, or ſums fooliſhly waſted in foreign dominions. — When the ſtandards of its gold and ſilver coins are higher than the ſtandards

ards of other neighbouring ſtates with which it communicates by commerce, to a greater extent than the riſque, inſurance, commiſſion, and charges of exportation, the price of exchange is *then* affected, becauſe it becomes an article of commerce, *hurtful to the nation.*

P. 248. Mr. Smith ſays, "That it would be more proper to conſider the variation in the average *money* price of corn as the effect rather of ſome gradual riſe in the *real* value of ſilver in the European market, than of any fall in the *real* average price of corn."—He alledges throughout, "That the riſe of the price of corn at the ſeveral periods, has been owing to the increaſe of ſilver by the diſcovery of the South America mines, which diminiſhed the value of coins."

The laſt idea appears natural; although in other places Mr. Smith obſerves, that the coinage of ſilver has at different periods *diminiſhed in weight*, without altering the name, or in fact the *nominal* value of that ſpecies.—It may be thought, and it is acknowledged to be preſumptuous, to oppoſe an opinion to that of ſo eminent an author; but theſe, ſurely, appear as contradictions, and the entire ſyſtem ſeems adverſe to daily experience. — The nominal value of coins in all nations, which is de-

rived from the ſupreme authority, has undergone very little alteration (except in the gold coin of France) ſince mankind attained a diſtinct idea and knowledge of univerſal commerce, and the force of luxury invented new wants; which is of a modern date. Until *then*, the uſes of coins were imperfectly underſtood; and it is only ſince they were accurately underſtood, that their *nominal* and *intrinſic* values have become the objects of political and commercial diſquiſition. — The advance prices of corn may rather, therefore, be imputed to an increaſe of luxury in the middle and inferior claſſes of the people; to an increaſe in the number of manufacturers, navigators, and citizens, who become neceſſarily conſumers, not in barter, as before the invention of coins, but in exchange for money; and to the monopoly of farms, which

which are converted into meadows for pasturage. In other countries of Europe, where manufactures are less known, the prices of corn have advanced only by the demand for exportation, operating as a manufacture, and creating an essential commodity in the scale of trade.

P. 250. He says, "That from 1740 to 1751, Britain exported 8,029,156 quarters and one bushel of all sorts of grain, for which a bounty was paid of £. 1,514,962. 17*s.* 4½*d.*

This is an important subject to the state. A nice calculation, founded upon true principles, is requisite, to determine the propriety or impropriety of a measure which hath consumed so much of the public wealth, and might prove dangerous, in certain events, to the existence of the nation. The conversion of corn land into meadows, may have been attended with two national evils, by creating a *losing* balance against it in trade,

trade *, and consuming the public revenues; and particularly, by raising the prices of the *essential* necessaries of life upon labourers, manufacturers, and the poor, and by that means enabling foreign states to supply themselves and their neighbours, by underselling Britain in those commodities which formerly produced the chief articles in the balance of trade.

Doubtless, the enormous export and bounty mentioned by Mr. Smith, must naturally have advanced the prices of grain at home, to the detriment of useful commerce, and the increase of the national debt; because it is a fact, that, notwithstanding these *occasional* exports, the imports have, of late years, been considerably great-

* A balance *against* the trade of a nation may, in some local circumstances, be considered as a *gaining* balance, when it is *necessary*, without indulging luxury, and procured for less than it can be manufactured at home.

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er than the exports, without bringing back a penny in duties, in lieu of the bounty paid on exportation *. The wiſdom of parliament ſhould deviſe expedients to encourage huſbandry, without granting a bounty on the exportation of corn, and without the monopoly of farms; then the manufactures of Britain would reſume their ſtations in the markets of Europe, as their qualities have ever been, and continue acknowledged to be ſuperior to thoſe of all other countries.

P. 269. Mr. Smith alledges, "That ſilver has increaſed in its value, ſince the preſent century."

Whether it has or has not, or ſhall hereafter, either increaſe or decreaſe in its quantity or value, as a commer-

* It has been computed with certainty, that the balance paid by Britain for corn imported, after deducting the value of exportation, ſtood thus:

		£.
In 1771,	—	105,200
1772,	—	84,400
1773,	—	569 820
1774,	—	1,022,230

and conſiderably more in 1775.

cial

cial commodity, effential alfo to the gratification of luxury and pomp, will make no alteration neceffary in the *nominal* values of filver coins *current by authority* in the feveral kingdoms and ftates of Europe, while it is confidered and ufed merely as the vehicle of exchange in commerce, without any direct or critical retrofpection to its quality or intrinfic value. If filver or gold in bullion, either rifes or falls in its *commercial* price, a greater or leffer quantity of alloy will be compounded in the current coins, without varying in any inftance the currency thereof, in the country where it is ftamped by legiflative authority.—Doubtlefs, a nation labouring under difcredit by a heavy load of *public debt*, may juftify the calling in the current coins, and recoining with a greater proportion of alloy, by way of feignorage, to reduce

reduce it to an equality with coins of the neighbouring ſtates; and by that means, reduce the public debt; while it will ſecure the national coin within itſelf, without affecting either its political or commercial credit. In France, the ſeignorage is eight per cent. on gold coins, beſides that the ſtandard, which is twenty-one carats, three quarters, is a quarter of a carat worſe than Engliſh ſterling. By reducing the gold now in circulation in the Britiſh dominions, to the circulating ſtandard of French gold coins, it will yield about one million and a half ſterling to the treaſury.

P. 272. Mr. Smith ſays, "That it is ſcarce in the power of human induſtry to multiply game and fiſh."

If Mr. Smith had viſited the royal domains of France, and thoſe of the princes of the blood royal, he would have perceived, that *human power*, by the ſimple exerciſe of political deſpotiſm only, can increaſe and multiply,

tiply game; and that wild birds will resort to, and admirably increase, in a greater proportion than dunghill fowls, and become equally tame, where shelter and security is yielded to them from human violence and invasion.

P. 300. He alledges, "That the increase of the quantity of gold and silver in Europe, and the increase of its manufactures and agriculture, are two events, which, though they have happened nearly about the same time, yet, *have arisen from very different causes, and have scarce any natural connection* with one another."

Though the abolition of the feudal system originated in Europe at the same period of time that *chance* effected the discovery of the American mines, it is, nevertheless, equally true, that the increase of the quantity of gold and silver, which were, long before that period, the intermediate mark of exchange whereby to ascertain the prices and values of all commodities, was partly the cause of the improving progress in manufactures and agriculture; without which no adequate compensation could be made by other nations, either to encourage miners, or to obtain

obtain the valuable metals from thoſe nations who had the ſole poſſeſſion and monopoly of them, as the means of giving value to any larger quantity than was before neceſſary in the *then* imperfect ſtate of commerce. I conceive it to be a fixed principle, in judging of the laws of commerce, that the improvement of manufactures and agriculture are not only inſeparable in their own natures, but actually dependent on each other; and that their united influence is the true ſource of wealth and population, and the ſprings of commercial action.—Another principle, in affixing an affinity between the increaſe of precious metals, and of manufactures and agriculture, is, that the quantity of ſpecies in circulation, muſt bear a certain proportion to the manufactured commodities, and theſe commodities to the ſucceſs or improvements

provements in agriculture; and that the superfluous metals, *by means of these improvements*, have become also articles of manufacture, whereby their values are enhanced.

In support of this allegation, Mr. Smith instances Poland, "where the feudal system still continues, which, notwithstanding the increase of precious metals, continues as beggarly as before." — Doubtless, the unhappy system of its aristocratical government, operates as a mill-stone, perpetually weighing down and oppressing the *great body* of the people, or *all* below the rank of nobility, and discouraging industry and the arts. Yet it should also be considered, that Poland is so situated, as to be unfortunately removed out of the line of commerce. It wants *freedom*, without which neither commerce or agriculture can flourish: and its having been

been fo often the wretched feat of ambitious wars, has interrupted agriculture, and occafioned depopulation.

Mr. Smith fays, "That the value of the metals is lower in Spain and Portugal, than in any other part of Europe, becaufe they come into all other parts loaded with a freight, infurance, and the expence of fmuggling." I think this is an erroneous mode of judging and calculating, proceeding from Mr. Smith's not having accurately confidered the nature of the commerce of Spain; which makes the precious metals *fcarcer*, and in reality *dearer*, in thofe countries, than in other parts of Europe; fince the fame quantity of metals is capable of procuring lefs of the neceffaries and conveniencies of life in their dominions, than any where elfe; as thofe countries receive all their

their ſupplies, even to the neceſſaries of life, from other ſtates, and the very mines are carried on by means of the manufactures of other nations. Do not theſe goods, therefore, come loaded with heavier charges of freight, inſurance, duty, commiſſions, and other charges, than bullion; which, by taking up leſs ſpace, pays leſs freight; by being leſs liable to receive damage, is inſured cheaper; and freed from a liſt of other charges, to which every other merchandize is incident?—and, as almoſt all the merchandize, and even the ſhipping which produce and tranſport the metals, are the production of other nations, to whom the metals are re-exported in the quality of manufactured merchandize, leaving little more than the duties and commiſſion in the nations to which the mines belong?—Their poverty originated in the

the decay of induſtry' with the diſcovery of the mines *; which, by creating a nominal influence and falſe idea of wealth to the people, rendered them, at firſt by ſucceſſes, and ſince by habit, proud, indolent, and totally negligent of agriculture and manufactures, whereby the population of Spain has, in that ſpace of time, ſunk from fourteen millions to ſeven and a half; and Portugal has dwindled from above three millions to one and three quarters.

P. 308 and 309. In ſupport of his opinions concerning the difference in the values of labour and money, he quotes the high prices of ſuperfine broad cloths formerly, compared with the preſent.—☞ See the paſſages.

Arts have arrived to a greater degree of perfection ſince, and luxury has proportionably increaſed. The ſame cloths, made of the ſame materials, are now manufactured, by means of new inventions in every part of the progreſs, at

* Query.—Whether Britain is not likely to fall by the luxury which originated in the wealth and power acquired by her great ſucceſſes ?—and Holland alſo ?

a much cheaper rate; the very materials are now bought for a leſs nominal price, by means of foreign commerce and domeſtic improvements; but, as a hundred perſons now uſe cloths of that quality, for one that uſed them in former times, the increaſe of the demand increaſes the profit, although the price be conſiderably leſs.

P. 330, &c. Mr. Smith's definition of the *diviſion of ſtock*, is ingenious and judicious. The idea is new, and exceedingly proper for the ſtudy of perſons in private life, and ſhould be well underſtood by perſons in the adminiſtration of public affairs, and by legiſlators.

P. 396. He ſays, "That the paper-currency of North America was made payable only after ſeveral years, without intereſt: That therefore it was a violent injuſtice, and a tyrannical regulation, to force it in payment, when

I have already obſerved, that the nominal value of coins in any country, or of that public emiſſion which ſupplies the place of gold and ſilver, will not bear to be treated philoſophically; becauſe even the gold and ſilver coins are,

when the intereſt of the colony was ſix per cent. per annum, and only due in fifteen years, creating a loſs to the holder of ſixty per cent: —That one hundred pounds ſterling was occaſionally conſidered as equivalent, in ſome of the colonies, to one hundred and thirty pounds, in others, to eleven thouſand pounds currency:—That this difference in the value ariſes from the difference in the quantity of paper emitted in the different colonies, and in the diſtance and probability of its final diſcharge and redemption,"

are, in every country, founded upon a diſcretionary eſtimation, guided ſometimes by the force of laws, and at other times by the voluntary agreement and pleaſure of merchants. —Notes circulating under the ſanction and ſecurity of government, and to continue in circulation for a limited term, in which it is computed that the public will be able to extinguiſh its debt by the redemption of paper with actual money; and that the ſum in circulation is limited to the amount of the debt;—if the credit of government be good for that amount, there can be no inconvenience to the individuals, and it ſhould paſs as current as metal coins. By cuſtom, and by tale, a half Johannes of Portugal, worth in England but thirty-ſix ſhillings, when of full weight, is current in ſome of the American colonies, after repeated clippings, at

ſixty-ſix ſhillings currency, when £. 100 ſterling is rated at £. 160 currency; which is rating the gold at twenty-three one-third more than the current exchange for bills upon England.—And yet, as it paſſes current, without the compulſion of any law, and only by the voluntary agreement and the pleaſure of merchants, who are willing to receive it at that rate, in payment for Britiſh and other goods, it is not deemed an injuſtice or tyranny, although the ſecurity is not ſo good as that of government, and although it produces no intereſt, but on the contrary loſes daily in its real value by wear.—Spaniſh dollars are likewiſe rated in the ſame exact proportion above the current courſe of exchange. Mr. Smith has not (I apprehend) truly inveſtigated the nature and cauſes of colony - exchange, and their fluctuations. — In the

the West India islands, where no paper has ever been emitted, and, for the most part, gold and silver coins of Portugal and Spain circulate in payment, the exchange varies from 125 to 175 per cent. in favour of British sterling, and the par of silver and gold is proportionably the same throughout, bearing above 20 per cent. more than bills. In the French islands, the exchange upon France is 150 currency per £.100 Tournois; yet the value of gold and silver is constant at 183⅓ per 100 Tournois. — These instances may suffice to shew, that the emission of paper money on government security, is neither unjust nor tyrannical, provided that there is not more thrown into the circulation than is requisite to maintain its commerce, and to supply the necessary intercourse of the colony within itself.

P. 431. He ſays, "That *intereſt* has ſunk in Europe, *ſince* and *by reaſon* of the diſcovery of the ſilver and gold mines in America."

This aſſertion has a direct retroſpection to what has been inveſtigated (page ~~439~~ 440) "concerning the increaſe of gold and ſilver in Europe, and the increaſe of manufactures and agriculture, though happening at the ſame time, having had, nevertheleſs, no natural connection, and ariſing from very different cauſes." In like manner, the ſame mode of reaſoning may juſtify the reduction of intereſt for the uſe of money, as the principal, if not the ſole cauſe, ſince the progreſſive improvements in uſeful arts and ſciences have, by equal progreſſions, expanded the intellectual faculties of men.—As the arts of improvement and of commerce, have approached to perfection, ſo the prices of goods, and the labour beſtowed on them, became leſs; and as the arts became general, the profits became ſo alſo, and in conſequence leſs; therefore

fore the uſe of money ſunk in the ſame proportion.—Thus it will be found; and Mr. Smith acknowledges, that in new colonies, or upon any new undertaking, the value of money is higher, as well as the rate of intereſt, and diminiſhes in proportion to the improvement; and that in commercial ſtates, and ſtates far advanced in improvements, the intereſt is always lower than in thoſe where there is leſs commerce and fewer manufactures, or which are, in general, very far back in the knowledge and property of the uſeful arts. Thus the rates of intereſt have been governed more by the improvements made in manufactures, trade, and navigation, than by the diſcovery of mines; becauſe the active invention of mankind would have ſubſtituted ſome other metals, as the univerſal mark of exchange, to which time,

time, uſe, and authority, would have given the ſame importance and ſtability, that are now given to ſilver and gold.

Mr. Smith explains himſelf afterwards, in oppoſition to the opinions of Locke, Law, and Monteſquieu, who aſſerted, "that intereſt ſunk by reaſon of the increaſe of gold and ſilver *only*;" and he ſays, "that the profits of ſtock are in proportion as the actual ſpecies in a country is to the capital employed; and that the common proportion between capital and profit would therefore be the ſame; and conſequently the common intereſt of money."—This is declaring an effect without a cauſe: but ſurely, if the borrower did not obtain a greater profit than what he was obliged to give for the uſe of money, together with the bare value of his labour, the eſtimation

tion of uſe is over-rated, becauſe the borrower gets only a bare ſubſiſtence, without any reaſonable conſideration for riſques, caſualties, and genius; therefore the rate of intereſt ſhould, and muſt, always be lower than the exact proportion between the capital and the profit.

☞ Whether it be that the ſubjects are leſs intricate, and better adapted therefore to my conception, or that they are more familiar to my knowledge and ideas, in the ſubſequent reading of this laborious performance; or that Mr. Smith draws the latter concluſions from facts and experience, and therefore ceaſes to treat them philoſophically, I know not: but henceforward, his obſervations appear more clear and diſtinct to my comprehenſion, tending to elucidate the minds of adminiſtration, and inſtructing them to view the real ſtate of the nation through a true perſpective, and to diſcloſe the means of reſtoring the whole to its original vigour and texture.

Vol. I. p. 479. Mr. Smith ſays, "That yeomanry is regarded as an inferior rank of people throughout

Upon a general principle, Mr. Smith's obſervations are juſt. Conſtitutional liberty ever encourages

throughout Europe; and that they are moſt reſpected in Britain. That in the republican governments of Holland, and Berne in Switzerland, the farmers *are ſaid* to be not inferior to thoſe in England."

encourages agriculture, as well as manufactures and trade. In England, farming is not only encouraged mechanically in thoſe who profeſs it, but it has of late years become a branch of liberal ſcience, and the practice thereof faſhionable among the firſt rank of commoners. It is very much reſpected and careſſed in its *general* and *mechanical* capacity. — Mr. Smith might have aſcribed ſelf-importance, eaſe, and ſkill, with greater propriety to the farmers of the Auſtrian Netherlands, and to ſome diſtricts of French Flanders, than to thoſe of Holland and Switzerland; though probably the diſtances at which thoſe provinces are happily placed from the over-bearing vices, tyranny, and ambitious emulation of their reſpective courts *, together with the *remnant*

* Vienna and Paris.

ſeeds

feeds of their own original conftitutions *, may have as yet preferved them from the wretchednefs of their fellow-fubjects.

Vol. I. p. 495. Mr. Smith has afferted with equal confidence and judgment, and it is an incontrovertible truth, "That *commerce* and *manufacture* gradually introduced *order and good government*, and with them the *liberty and fecurity* of individuals, among the inhabitants of the country who had before lived in a continual ftate of war with their neighbours, and of fervile dependency upon their fuperiors. This, though it has been the leaft obferved, is by far the moft important of all their effects."

P. 509. He fays, "That a merchant is not *neceffarily* the citizen of any *particular* country." —This remark is as pithy and juft, as it is liberal, under the idea of a *general* merchant, and the facred reputation, honor, and commercial credit, which formerly belonged to a profeffion, which contributed more than any other to civilize remote nations, and eftablifh a univerfal fociability. But the term *merchant* hath fubmitted to abufes fince.

Vol. II. p. 2. He fays, "That it is a *popular* notion, which fuppofes wealth to confift in gold

* The Flemifh.

and

and ſilver ſpecies, ariſing from the double function of *money* as the *inſtrument of commerce* and the *meaſure of value*." This is a very ſenſible obſervation, and a true one: and on the ſame principle, in the 20th page, he ſays, "That bullion is the money of the great mercantile republic."

Vol. II. p. 43. He ſays, "That to prohibit, *by a perpetual law*, the importation of foreign corn and cattle, is in reality to enact, that the population and induſtry of the country ſhall at no time exceed what the rude produce of its own ſoil can maintain."

If Holland, Venice, Genoa, the Hanſe-towns, and other free governments, were to adopt ſuch a maxim, their declenſion would be rapid indeed. Mr. Smith's remark is ſo juſt, that it were happy for the Britiſh empire if every miniſter and legiſlator would ſubmit to make it an unalterable part of his political creed, and remember it before he aſſents to the paſſing of any perpetual law whatever, as the effects of all general laws are deducible from the principles of induſtry and population.

Vol. II. p. 48 and 49. He ſays, with great juſtice, "*That taxes upon the neceſſaries of life*, have nearly the ſame effect upon the circumſtances of the people, *as a poor ſoil and a bad climate*; proviſions being thereby rendered dearer, in the ſame manner as if it required extraordinary labour and expence to raiſe them. *When taxes are grown to a certain height, they are a curſe equal to the*

the barrenneſs of the earth, and the inclemency of the heavens."

P. 51. He ſays, "That to judge whether retaliations by one nation, for reſtraining the importation of its goods or manufactures in another, are likely to produce a repeal of the reſtraints, does not, perhaps, belong ſo much to the ſcience of a legiſlator, whoſe deliberations ought to be governed by *general* principles, which are *always* the ſame, as to the ſkill of *that inſidious and crafty animal, vulgarly called a ſtateſman or politician, whoſe counſels are directed by the momentary fluctuations of affairs.*"

However juſt Mr. Smith's diſtinction may be, in aſcertaining the *ſeparate* duties of a miniſter and legiſlator, in matters of trade, it nevertheleſs belongs to the legiſlator to be informed, as well of the particular principles which actuate the miniſter on any particular ſubject, as to underſtand the general principles of commerce, and the diſtributive relation of the manufactures of one nation to another. A particular knowledge of manufactures, and a general knowledge of trade, together with the univerſal and relative principles of navigation, are the equal, and ſhould be the indiſpenſable provinces of both ſtateſman and legiſlator. This ſubject is more immediately applicable to the rivality between Britain and France, than any other countries

countries in Europe.—The balance of trade is the pivot upon which the rivalſhip turns.—A queſtion will naturally ariſe upon this ſubject, whether a treaty of commerce with France, upon limited, but liberal grounds, would not prove more effectual in removing thoſe retaliating reſtraints, reciprocally, than any other mode whatever, with peculiar advantages in favour of Britain.—Britain chiefly imports wines from France; its other imports conſiſt of luxuries. Theſe are commodities *which corrupted gouts and minds* have, by habit, rendered indiſpenſable in the firſt and ſecond claſſes of the nation, and will continue, therefore, to be obtained by *licit* or *illicit* means. France, more deſpotic and effectual over the minds and actions of all her ſubjects, can reſtrain the importation of contraband goods; and by that means *neceſſity*, the parent

rent of *invention*, will devise means to force the manufacture of goods *at home*, which, in time, are brought to such perfection as to render the restraining laws unnecessary. Thus Britain loses in a two-fold sense, viz. by not vending her own manufactures, and by being obliged to take French wines avowedly paying duty, and three times as much clandestinely, without any duty, and by yielding encouragement for smuggling other luxuries. The balance of trade, for the same reason, will continually be against Britain. It is an unerring maxim, which experience should have demonstrated long ago to financiers, that when any commodity is taxed immoderately, the certain consequence will be, the diminution of that branch of the revenue; which arises from two self-evident causes, viz. the diminution of the legal imports, and the

the temptation to run contraband goods, the high duties operating as a ſeducing premium for the riſque.

Without bringing the enormous ſums expended by Britiſh ſubjects reſiding and travelling in France, into the computation, it muſt be acknowledged, that the general balance has of late years turned conſiderably to the ſide of France, notwithſtanding the tobacco contracts, and the large exportation of the gold coin of Britain ſince the recoinage in 1773, which appeared conſpicuouſly in the rate of exchange having augmented the number of pence for a French crown above the par, which formerly had been generally under it. — The exportation of the Britiſh gold coin into France, aroſe from the very great ſuperiority in the ſtandard, and ſome alſo in the weight, of guineas over Louis d'ors; though in general they are reputed,

in

in tale, of equal value. The Caiſſe d'Eſcompte in Paris had agents in Dunkirk, Calais, and Boulogne, who gave twelve ſols and a Louis d'or for each new guinea, and ſent ſeveral thouſands every month to Paris, where they were immediately diſſolved into Louis d'ors. Would it not, as well in a revenue, as in a commercial point of view, be political to reduce the Britiſh coin ſtandard to an equality with the French gold ſtandard? And, like them, and all the other commercial ſtates in Europe, to increaſe the quantity of ſilver coin in circulation, reducing the latter coin to the ſtandard of Holland? Such a meaſure, keeping to the exact ſtandards of France and Holland, would raiſe a conſiderable revenue; would retain the current ſpecie in the nation, to the great encouragement and benefit of commerce, manufactures, and agriculture;

culture; and would do away many of the temptations to counterfeit and clip the coins. If, by thus reducing the real quality of coins to the ſtandard of other commercial nations, the price of labour, or the productions of labour, ſhould advance in a retroſpective progreſſion, (which, however, is not very probable) the evil would in that caſe fall, as it ought in juſtice and good policy to do, upon the intemperate or avaricious rack-renting landlords; provided a legal mean is deviſed to reſtrain them from a continuation of unreaſonable exactions, or otherwiſe diſtreſſing their tenants; the conſequences of which would be, that the future prices of the neceſſaries of life would be fixed, unleſs remarkably good or bad ſeaſons ſhould occaſion a temporary fluctuation.

The mode of computing the balance of trade in Britain, by the

Cuſtom-houſe entries, is erroneous and deceitful. The rate of exchange between one country and another, is the true criterion; becauſe the prices of bills are always governed by the ſurplus demand, which elevates or depreſſes, like mercury, by the warmth of the creditor, or the frigidity of the debtor.—Thus, for example, if a greater quantity of any foreign coin is allowed for a pound ſterling, than the par of exchange (according to their reſpective ſilver ſtandards) it denotes a greater demand to remit to England, and conſequently that the balance of trade is in favour of England *.

The

* This ſubject leads me to the obſervation, that Mr. Smith, in treating of the commercial ſyſtem of Britain, and the connection thereof with the American colonies, although juſt in almoſt all his remarks, ſeems not to have fixed his attention with ſufficient energy to the chief national bulwark, *the acts of trade and navigation*, particularly the 12th Car. II. Theſe two ſubjects, to wit, the general commercial ſyſtem, and its immediate connection with the American colonies, conſidered generally, will furniſh a political queſtion—Whether, upon a ſtrict enquiry into the flow, and often-

 times

The ſubject of coinage is capable of uſeful diſcuſſion. A guinea, of full weight, paſſes in common currency but for 24 livres, in France; although, by a comparative eſtimation, a Louis d'or of full weight is worth no more in England than about 18 *s.* 4 *d.* $\frac{19}{19}$, eſtimating the par of exchange at 22 livres 10 ſols per pound ſterling.—I have made the computation thus:

	£.	s.	d.
In France, a mark of *fine* gold is worth	740	9	$1\frac{1}{11}$
The ſtandard of $21\frac{3}{4}$ carats is worth - -	671	0	10
Leſs than pure gold, per mark	69	8	$3\frac{1}{11}$
The ſtandard mark is coined into 30 Louis d'ors, equal to 720 livres, which is worſe than ſtandard -	48	19	2
	£.118	7	$5\frac{1}{11}$

times uncertain returns for Britiſh manufactures from the colonies in America, and the quick and frequent returns from the European foreign markets, the latter may not enable the manufacturers to underſell the manufactures of other countries, with ſurer and greater advantages to themſelves and the nation?

Thus

Thus coined gold is worse than fine, per mark	118	7	$5\frac{1}{11}$
Which will be found to be about 32 *l.* sterling per mark, or 4 pounds per ounce; of inferior standard by $\frac{1}{4}$ carat; and the English standard is valued at	3	17	$10\frac{1}{2}$
per oz. making a difference of per oz. -	0	2	$1\frac{1}{2}$
Eight per cent. signorage in France on 80*l.* is - -	0	6	$6\frac{2}{15}$
$\frac{1}{4}$ carat in the standard is, -	0	0	$11\frac{1}{9}$
The whole difference per oz. £.	0	9	$7\frac{1}{4}$

nearly: which, proportioned to the guineas and Louis d'ors contained respectively in an ounce, constitutes a difference in the value of a guinea above a Louis-d'or of 2*s.* 7*d.* $\frac{70}{89}$.

Vol. II. p. 206. He says, "That Virginia and Maryland sent to the British market above 96,000 hogsheads of tobacco; whereof about 14,000 was said to be consumed in Britain."

It is a pity that Mr. Smith did not shew the public advantages reaped from this single branch of the American trade. Each hogshead may be rated at 7 *l.* 10 *s.* neat, or the whole at 720,000*l.* sterling; whereof

whereof the British consumption was but £. 105,000: the remaining £. 615,000 created a balance of trade in favour of Britain; besides that, by employing at least 330 capital ships, it gave bread and encouragement to upwards of five thousand seamen. The duties on the 14,000 hogsheads consumed in Britain, produced a revenue, at £. 26. 1 s. per hogshead, of £. 364,700, besides some fractional parts of the subsidies, which were retained at exportation, of the duties paid on importation. —— The *whole* of these sums, as also an increase of debts by way of loans, were returned to America in British manufactures and India goods from Britain. The debts owing by the colonists, in Britain, and the quantities of bullion annually remitted from the colonies to Britain, constitute the smallest part of the balance in favour of the trade of Britain with

with her colonies; the moſt important object hath been, the happy advantages of not being ſubjugated to other nations, for the rich and indiſpenſable commodities with which the colonies ſupply the Britiſh market.

P. 226. Mr. Smith ſays, "That the aſſemblies can never be managed, ſo as to levy upon their conſtituents a revenue ſufficient, not only to maintain, *at all times*, their own civil and military eſtabliſhment, but to pay their *proper* proportion of the expence of the general government of the Britiſh empire, *ſeems not at all probable.*"

It ſhould be firſt determined by Mr. Smith, whether the Americans ſhould pay *all* their own civil and military eſtabliſhment, together *alſo* with a proportion of the *whole* expences of the *general* empire; or, under what quantum he means to define the *proper* proportion of the *general* expence. But in the form in which the meaning at preſent appears, it ſeems to be an idea founded only on conjecture. The people of America having paſſions like other men, after long and fruitleſs humble ſupplications, have

have become, in their turn, callous, as well as turbulent, refractory, and vindictive; infinitely more ſo than was natural to their conſtitutions, and their diſtinguiſhed loyalty and attachment to the mother ſtate; which proves, that no people are more dangerous than thoſe who preſerve a phlegmatic character, when driven to deſperation, and their reſentments are raiſed; nor a more dreadful and implacable enemy than an enraged friend; and it equally proves, that numberleſs political errors, when once adopted, become, unhappily, fixed principles. But the people of America, being ſenſible, reaſonable, and open to conviction, may eaſily be made to behold the happy ſtate in which they once were, as ſubjects to the *crown* of Britain, and the miſeries which *independence* will entail, inevitably, on themſelves and their poſterity;

poſterity; and they will, conſequently, adopt the happy medium of contributing, in a reaſonable proportion, to the exigencies of the *general* empire, for *general* ſecurity, as *general* ſubjects of the ſame great ſtate.

P. 237. He ſays, "That it is alledged the Spaniſh and Portugueſe colonies conſume three millions ſterling a year, in the article of linen alone, from Germany, Holland, Flanders, and France."

This allegation corroborates what I have already remarked, concerning the value of precious metals in the mine-poſſeſſing countries, (p. 449): but it alſo ſeems incredible; it being more than a *probable* proportion of the rich commodities, of every kind, imported into Europe from the Spaniſh and Portugueſe colonies. It ſhould likewiſe be computed in this eſtimate, that the galleons from South America to the Philippine iſlands bring back rich cargoes of fine cottons; that the Portugueſe ſhips from India ſell

ſell cottons on the coaſt of Brazil; that the Dutch, French, and Engliſh traders in the Weſt Indies, ſupply the Spaniſh main with linen and cotton cloths; that vaſt quantities of ſuperfine woollen cloths and ſilks are annually imported from Europe and Aſia for the conſumption of theſe American colonies; and that, after all, the whole export of bullion ſeldom exceeds the value of ſix millions ſterling in any one year.

P. 248 and 249. Mr. Smith ſays, "That the Cape of Good Hope, and Batavia, are at preſent the moſt conſiderable European colonies in Africa or the Eaſt Indies, being peculiarly fortunate in their ſituation; that their ſituations have enabled them to ſurmount *all* the obſtacles which the oppreſſive genius of an excluſive Company may have

Mr. Smith has truſted to a falſe information, in the idea of ſuperiority which he has aſcribed to theſe two Dutch ſettlements. — The oppreſſive genius of an excluſive Company, hath wholly obſtructed the growth of public and private opulence, and of induſtry, at the Cape of Good Hope, where nature hath bountifully furniſhed

have occaſionally oppoſed to their growth, and, in Batavia, the additional diſadvantage of perhaps the moſt unwholeſome climate in the world."

ed the means of making it a moſt delightful and flouriſhing colony. Batavia is alſo cramped by the ſame evil genius; and the natives, the Chineſe emigrants, and Malays, are rendered diſaffected by the ſcourges of wanton and impolitic tyranny and oppreſſion. Even the unhealthfulneſs of Batavia, is an evil of Dutch invention, becauſe they cannot exiſt out of water; and they have introduced unneceſſary canals into the town, the ſtagnation of which is the chief cauſe of the mortality that hath depopulated the place, and contributed greatly to the bankruptcy of the Dutch Eaſt India Company.

Mr. Smith's obſervations in pages 236, and in 252, 253, &c. vol. ii. on the mercantile government and orders of the Engliſh Company to their ſervants in India, claim attention; and on the future government and influence in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, are juſt and prophetic.

Chap.

Chap. II. Book V. upon the duties and excise, is, probably, the most ingenious and perfect disquisition and conclusion on that subject, that has yet appeared in print.—Great and many advantages may be derived from a just and steady application of the principles which are deducible from the objects laid down by Mr. Smith, as political improvements on the national finances and trade.—In page 518, his observations on the salaries and perquisites of officers employed in collecting taxes, duties, and excise, call for the speedy attention of parliament.—The perquisites of office are more grievous than the tax levied, in as much as they are arbitrary and oppressive; but, in many instances, greater than the impost collected; and are, moreover, the means of frequently defrauding the revenue by connivances.

In the 419th page, he states "the ordinary revenues of Britain, for the current expence, interest of public debts, and for sinking a part of the debt, above ten millions; whereof the land-tax quota is near two millions, or one-fifth part."—By this mode of estimating the land-tax, the *gross* landed revenue of Great Britain does not exceed ten millions a year.—The rent reserved is always supposed to be no more than one-third part of the *gross production* of the land; and it is also conjectured, that when the land-tax is at four shillings, the proprietors, on an average throughout the kingdom, pay no more than two shillings in the pound of the present value of reserved rents. At that rate, therefore, the real neat produce to the proprietors will amount to twenty millions, and the gross or entire production to sixty millions.—Of this sixty millions in gross, only one-sixth part pays the tax out of the pockets of the land proprietors; and the remaining

maining five-sixths is paid by the consumers; to wit, labourers, mechanics, manufacturers, and merchants.—Thus, out of the two millions *land-tax*, part of the ten millions *general tax*, the landed property, *in the first instance*, pays but the thirtieth part of the whole; the remaining twenty-nine thirtieths falling upon commerce and agriculture, or rather upon industry and ingenuity, *even* when the land-tax is at the highest that has ever yet been assessed.

APPENDIX [C.]

SECRET DEPARTMENT.

Conſultation, *Wedneſday*, 15th *December* 1779.

READ again the Governor General's propoſition for a reply to Mr. Purling's letter, entered in the laſt conſultation.

Mr. Wheeler.—Although I have little or no concern in the tranſactions, that have reduced the Nabob of Oude to the neceſſity of repreſenting his preſent diſtreſſes to this board, and highly diſapprove of the principles on which they were governed; I ſubmit to the neceſſity of concurring in the preſent motion.

Mr. Francis.—If indiſpenſable neceſſity alone had been pleaded in defence of the meaſure propoſed in the governor's motion, I ſhould have contented myſelf with enquiring how far the plea might in fact be well founded. It ſuppoſes an extremity, to which no general reaſon can be oppoſed. If ſuch a caſe exiſts at preſent, we may lament the

the ſteps that have reduced our government to a ſituation, in which we are compelled to renounce the principles of juſtice and good faith, or to incur the hazard of ruin. But we muſt yield to *facts*, by which the claims of *right* are too often ſuperſeded. *I muſt deſire it to be underſtood, that it is on this ground* alone, *I acquieſce in the ſubſtance of this motion.* Many things are ſaid in ſupport of it, to which I do not aſſent. Some of them, I think, are very unfit to be urged to the Nabob.

I have not been long enough in the habits of dominion, to ſee any thing offenſive or alarming in the demand made by an independent prince, to be relieved from the burthen of maintaining a foreign army, *which, it is notorious, have devoured his revenues and his country, under colour of defending it.*

On what principles do we profeſs to act towards our neigbours and allies, when a demand apparently ſo reaſonable, is conſtrued into a grievous injury or offence? He tells us, he is no longer able to pay our troops, and deſires they may be withdrawn.—It is ſaid, that the principle on which his objections are made, is repugnant with his engagement with the Company. I wiſh to ſee his engagement ſtated, if it exiſts. With reſpect to the regular brigade, the treaty of Fyzabad fixes the ſubſidy he is to pay for it, *while it is ſtationed with him*; and the Court of Directors, in their letter of the 15th of December 1775, approve of their keeping a brigade in the ſervice of the Soubah of Oude, *provided it be done with the free conſent of the Soubah; but by no means without it.*—Concerning this part of the army, however, there is at preſent no diſpute, ſince the Vizier does not deſire to have it recalled. His demand goes ſolely to the temporary brigade, and independent battalions under Major Hannay and Captain Oſborne. The

 former,

former, he ſays, is not only quite uſeleſs to the government, but is the cauſe of much loſs, both in the revenues and cuſtoms; the latter, he aſſerts, bring nothing but confuſion to the affairs of government, and are entirely their own maſters.

If this repreſentation were not ſtrictly true, *as I am convinced it is*, it would not affect the right and juſtice of his demand.—The queſtion is, Have we a right to keep an army in his country againſt his will, and whether he be able to pay them or not? The Governor ſays, "It is *our* part, and not *his*, to judge and determine in what manner, and at what time, theſe troops ſhall be reduced or withdrawn." I believe there is no precedent of a treaty of ſubſidy formed on ſuch a principle. The ſtate that could ſubmit to it, muſt by the ſame act renounce its own political exiſtence. In the inſtance before us, the fact is, that when the temporary brigade was formed out of the Vizier's troops, he was expreſsly aſſured by the Governor General, "that the expence of it ſhould remain a fixed charge to him, *for ſo long a time as he ſhould require the corps for his ſervice*."—The obſervations which the Court of Directors themſelves have made on this part of the tranſaction, are ſo exactly in point, and deſcribe the preſent caſe with ſo much preciſion, that I ſhall inſert their own words, as much better and ſtronger, than any thing I could ſay on the ſubject.

"If by this propoſition it is intended to leave the Vizier at liberty to diſcharge the troops at his pleaſure, we think ſuch a ſtipulation dangerous, and likely to operate to our very great inconvenience; and if more be meant than is expreſſed, and you intend to exert your influence, firſt to induce the Vizier to acquieſce in your propoſal, and afterwards

wards to compel him to keep the troops in his pay during your pleafure, your intentions are unjuft, and a correfpondent conduct would reflect great difhonour on the Company."

The motion fuppofes, not only a neceffity of our compelling him to keep thofe troops in his pay, but that we ourfelves fhould be the collectors of the revenue which is to pay them, which, as things are now managed, is nearly equivalent to putting the country under military execution. *Thus one neceffity produces another, and will continue to do fo, as long as the Indian ftates poffefs any thing that can tempt our avarice, or gratify our ambition, or until we ourfelves are taught by experience, that there is fome felf-wifdom in doing juftice to others.*

The fyftem which has created our prefent neceffities * does not belong to me, *though I am compelled to participate in the meafures which they have rendered unavoidable.*

Governor General.—I fcarce know in what light to regard this minute. It confifts folely of objections to the queftion, except the conclufion, which is an acquiefcence in it. If the meafures which I have recommended be unjuft, if it be contrary to the orders of the Court of Directors, and to the principles of public faith, no confideration fhould compel us to perfevere in it; but other expedients fhould be fuggefted, if any others can be devifed, or we ought implicitly to yield to the Nabob's demand, efpecially if it be, as Mr. Francis ftates it, "apparently fo reafonable, and fupported by right and juftice."

To the affertion, that the fyftem which has created our prefent neceffities does not belong to

* Alluding to the Marratta war.

 Mr.

Mr. Francis, I muſt beg leave to reply, that it belongs to the adminiſtration of this government, which formed the exiſting treaty with the Nabob Aſoph-ul-Dowla, and created a new military eſtabliſhment for the defence of thoſe parts of his dominions, which were interdicted to our troops by the poſitive orders of the Company. Neither Mr. Barwell nor myſelf were efficient parts of that adminiſtration. Mr. Francis was; and therefore, in my underſtanding of it, the ſyſtem which has created our preſent neceſſities does ſpecially, and, with relation to the preſent board, excluſively, belong to him. The treaty which was concluded with the Nabob Sujah Dowla, placed him on the moſt reſpectable footing, as the ſovereign of an independent ſtate, and left all his rights untouched, with a proviſion for their ſecurity againſt eventual encroachments upon them; and the duration of his alliance with the Company depended yet more upon the reciprocal and equal advantages which it held out to both parties, than on the formality of a written compact.—This treaty was broken at his death, and a new one, conſtructed on far different principles, was made with his ſon and ſucceſſor, by which the latter eventually and neceſſarily became a vaſſal of the Company, and their intereſts bound by ſuch ſtrong and intricate ties, as muſt render it dangerous at any time to ſeparate them, and fatal to both at ſuch a time as this. It would lead me into too wide a diſcuſſion, to bring proofs of this, by a deduction of all the effects which have been ſucceſſively derived from this treaty; nor, in this place, is it neceſſary. The treaty itſelf is in the hands of the public. Its conſequences were foreſeen from the commencement of it; and on this occaſion, I ſhall be content to rely on the general opinion of the world for

for its ſanction of my own. With reſpect to the troops appropriated to the defence of the new-acquired dominions of the Nabob of Oude, theſe were raiſed at the expreſs ſolicitation of the preſent Nabob, and by a vote of the late adminiſtration, in which I had not, as I have before declared, an effective voice, nor any other concern, but in the charge of their firſt form, and nominal dependency. Their ſubſtance is ſtill the ſame. They were originally engrafted on our own conſtitution, and became at once ſo intimately united with it, as to implicate it in all the dangers incident to the defects of their firſt formation. They have now no ſeparate or diſtinct exiſtence, and may be ſaid properly to conſiſt of our whole military eſtabliſhment, with the exception only of our European infantry. They cannot be withdrawn without impoſing on the Company the additional burthen of their expence, *or diſbanding of nine battalions of diſciplined Sepoys, and three regiments of horſe, at a time when our actual ſtrength is confeſſedly unequal to all the poſſible exigencies of the extenſive dominions, which depend on us for their protection* *; and when we ſhould not only loſe their ſervices, but muſt expect to ſee them become the moſt active and dangerous inſtruments in the hands of our enemies. In repeating Mr. Francis's aſſertion, I do not mean to deduce all the neceſſities which attend the preſent ſtate of our connection with the Nabob of Oude, as effects from any ſyſtem, but only the neceſſity of maintaining the in-

* And yet Mr. Haſtings has invariably purſued plans of extending conqueſts, and waſting the Company's funds, by an increaſe of the military eſtabliſhment, from about ſix hundred thouſand pounds to about two millions of Engliſh pounds annually.

 fluence

fluence and force which we poffefs in his country. The diforders of his ftate, and the diffipation of his revenues, are the effects of his own conduct; which have failed, not fo much from the ufual effects of incapacity, as from the deteftable choice which he has made of the minifters of his power, and the participation of his confidence. I forbear to expatiate further on his character. It is fufficient that I am underftood by the members of this board, who muft know the truth of my allufions.

As no period was ftipulated for the continuance of the temporary brigade, or of the troops which are to fupply their place in his fervice, nor any mode prefcribed for withdrawing them; the time and mode of withdrawing them muft be guided by fuch rules, as the neceffity and the common interefts of both parties fhall dictate. Thefe, either he muft prefcribe, or ourfelves, if we cannot agree upon them. *In fuch a divifion, the ftrongeft muft decide.* This confequence is inevitable; and I truft that in our decifion, we fhall be warranted by the ftricteft principles of juftice, of public faith, and of the obligations required by the obligation in which we ftand to the Nabob. If we abandon him, or, which would be equivalent to it, if we withdraw the actual defences of his dominions, his ruin muft be the confequence, and ours may be drawn after it. No one will affirm, that he is capable of defending them by his own ftrength, or of providing refources for their defence from his own abilities.

I fee many defects in our political fyftem, and efpecially that part of it which appertains to the Nabob of Oude; but this government wants the prefent means of correcting them, nor dare I fuggeft them. Perhaps expedients may be found, for affording the Nabob a gradual relief from the burthen

then of which he ſo heavily complains, and it ſhall be my endeavour to ſeek out, and to recommend, thoſe means of relief. But theſe muſt be gradually applied, and their complete effect may be diſtant; and this I conceive is all that he can claim of right. At his ſolicitation, for the purpoſe of his convenience, and for the ſupport of his intereſts, theſe troops were raiſed. He has no right to require us to diſband them to our own hurt, and immediately. I, for my own part, do not attribute the demand to any conviction impreſſed on the Nabob's mind, by the neceſſity of his affairs, but to the knowledge which his adviſers have acquired of the weakneſs and diviſions of our own government. This is a powerful motive with me, however inclined I might be, upon any other occaſion, to yield to ſome part of his demands, to give them an abſolute and unconditional refuſal upon the preſent, and even to bring to puniſhment, if my influence can produce that effect, thoſe incendiaries who have endeavoured to make themſelves the inſtruments of diviſion between us.

Mr. Francis.—I have acquieſced in the ſubſtance of the motion, on the grounds of immediate neceſſity; and I have combated ſome of the principles on which it is ſupported. This diſtinction is a clear one.

The ſyſtem of meaſures to which the concluſion of my former minute alludes, is that general one which has created our preſent neceſſities, and which I have uniformly oppoſed; the Marratta war is a principal part of it.

The eſtabliſhment of the temporary brigade in the Company's ſervice, was voted about the middle of the year 1777, againſt the opinion of

Sir John Clavering and myſelf. The corps commanded by Major Hannay and Captain Oſborne, are of a ſtill later date.

Whether thoſe acts were a neceſſary and unavoidable conſequence of our lending the Nabob a number of Britiſh officers to diſcipline his own troops, ſtill continuing under his own authority, is a queſtion on which enough has been ſaid already. When the meaſure was propoſed here, it had the concurrence of the Governor General's voice. With reſpect to the treaty of Fyzabad, I believe it to be the general opinion of the world, that it was a very advantageous one to the Company. The Governor General himſelf has hitherto declared it ſo in terms, and the Court of Directors have approved of it highly. In what manner it made the Nabob a vaſſal of this government, I cannot comprehend.

I have nothing to do with the Vizier's private life or character. He may, or may not, be guilty of the vices imputed to him. The ſpirit of party is apt to paint all characters in extremes: but I do know, that in this reſpect, nothing could be more atrocious than the character of his brother Saudut Ally; yet it did not prevent his being perfectly well received in Calcutta. For my own part, I have no wiſh to be acquainted with either of them.

As to the defence of the Vizier's dominions, and the ruin which would enſue if our troops were withdrawn, I ſhall only ſay, that I know of no enemies he has, but thoſe which his actual connections with us may have created.

Governor General.—I have ſaid, and repeat, that the eſtabliſhment of the temporary brigade, was but a continuation of the former meaſure, though

though differently modified. As to the corps commanded by Major Hannay and Captain Osborne, it would be immaterial to me, whether they were retained or not. I have no wish to continue them; but when they are made the parts of such a demand, I will not separate them in the reply, which I advise to be made to him. They might be of the greatest utility. The Nabob renders them useless, and defeats the purposes of their appointment, and then proposes their abolition.

I well remember, that my assent was given to the general proposition for disbanding the licentious and expensive multitude, which composed the Nabob's army, and substituting a corps disciplined and commanded by British officers in its stead; but I had no share in the formation of this corps, nor did I approve of it. Many measures passed at that time, of which I did not approve, although I did not think it necessary, nor consistent with my public duty, to make an effectual opposition to them, and to impede the course of those affairs, which I was not allowed to conduct. The sense which I have now expressed of the treaty of Fyzabad, is such as I have always entertained of it. As I do not know the passage to which Mr. Francis alludes as a contradiction of this opinion, I cannot say whether it will or will not admit of that conclusion; although I will readily admit, and must admit, the advantages which the Company immediately derived from the treaty.

Mr. Francis was surely not aware of the injury which he did me, in ascribing to the spirit of party the character which I gave of Asoph-ul-Dowla. He himself knows it to be true. He has had as authentic means of knowing it as I have; and it

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is one of thofe notorieties which fuperfede the neceffity of any evidence. Why his character fhould be contrafted with that of his brother Saudut Ally, I know not; the fubject did not require it. I was forced to the allufion which I made, by the imputation which appeared to me to be caft upon this government, of having caufed the evils which prevail in the government of the Nabob of Oude; which I could only anfwer by afcribing them to their real caufe, the character and conduct of the Nabob of Oude. Mr. Francis miftakes, if he fuppofes that I am hurt by any reflection that may be caft on Saudut Ally; or that I fhall ftand forth in his vindication: I have heard the fame imputations caft on Saudut Ally, with fome others; which, becaufe they had relation to the peace of this town, I made a ftrict and formal enquiry into them, and found them to be totally falfe. Thefe charges may be true; but let them be admitted, What reference has his character to the prefent queftion? Were his vices, in a ten-fold degree, greater than they are, they have not affected nor influenced the difficulties to which our debates have alluded. Nor, whatever may be the character of his brother, fhall I ever draw any conclufion from it, by which the obligation of our engagements to him may be affected.

Mr. Francis.—The opinion of the Governor General, concerning the treaty of Fyzabad, is recorded on the 14th of September 1775, in the following words:

"As, however, the treaty which has been concluded is very advantageous to the Company, it is my wifh that it may be confirmed by the honourable Court; but I take the liberty of recommending,

mending, that your orders may be fuch, as may tend to conciliate the mind of the Nabob, and to remove the apprehenfion of any future encroachments on his dominions."

Governor General. — I fhall let the opinion which Mr. Francis has quoted, pafs without a comment. I find it to be a part of a letter addreffed by me fingly, to the Court of Directors, and I do not believe that any perfon who reads it with a candid attention, will find it inconfiftent with my prefent opinion. I defire that the whole paragraph may be added, after the quotation made of it by Mr. Francis.—viz.

" You will receive, in our proceedings of the 6th of June, a copy of the new treaty which has been concluded with the Nabob Afoph-ul-Dowla. You are already acquainted with my opinion, that our engagements with the late Vizier * were equally binding upon us in regard to his fucceffor; and, confequently, that we could not with juftice make any further demands upon him; and you will find by our confultations,

" That this was fo ftrongly the idea of the Nabob Afoph-ul-Dowla, that for fome time he feemed refolved, rather to difpenfe with the affiftance of our army, than to fubmit to new terms. Although, therefore, upon more mature confideration of his inability to maintain himfelf without our fupport, the neceffity of his affairs has obliged him to acquiefce, I doubt not but he is at heart diffatisfied at the meafures which have been taken; and the exprefs limitation of the prefent engagement to his life, will naturally encourage an opinion, that upon his death we fhall

* Alluding to the treaty of Benaras, in September 1773.

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make ſtill further demands. As, however, the treaty which has been concluded is very advantageous to the Company, it is my wiſh that it may be confirmed by your honourable Court; but I take the liberty of recommending, that your orders may be ſuch as may tend to conciliate the mind of the Nabob, and to remove the apprehenſion of any future encroachments on his dominions. For theſe purpoſes, I ſubmit the propriety of your giving peremptory inſtructions to your adminiſtration in Bengal, to be particularly attentive to ſupport and befriend him; *to maintain him in the poſſeſſion of the Rohilla country, without making the demands upon him, to which you are entitled by the 7th article*; and that, in caſe of his death, the preſent treaty ſhall be confirmed with his ſucceſſor: and to make known theſe orders to the Nabob. *I recommend this with the greater confidence, as it is ſo entirely conſiſtent with the tenor of your former commands, and particularly the ſecond paragraph of your inſtructions to the commiſſioners, of the 15th of September* 1769, *wherein you direct them to make known to the powers in India, that it is by no means the intention of the Company to encroach upon their neighbours; but that they are determined to confine their views to the revenue of Bengal, and their preſent poſſeſſions* *." To maintain the Nabob in the poſſeſſion, ſeems neceſſary indeed to enable him to make his ſtipulated payments to the Company; and I am perſuaded, that the knowledge of our reſolution to do ſo, will alone be ſufficient to effect the purpoſe, as no power of

* Yet, how generally and openly has Mr. Haſtings diſobeyed the very commands which he thus pointedly quotes and refers back, for their future government.

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Hindoftan will in that cafe venture to invade it."

Mr. Barwell.—I confefs I do not underftand how an acquiefcence can be given to the Governor General's motion, and the principle on which it is made denied. Such an acquiefcence doth, in fact, affert all that is advanced in the letter propofed to be written to our refident, and to be urged to the Nabob, to be falfe, and yet to authorife the falfity. The propofed letter afferts, that he ftands engaged to our government to maintain the Englifh armies, that have been formed for the protection of his dominions: and that it is *our* part, not *his*, to determine in what manner, and at what time, thefe fhall be reduced or withdrawn; that this right is in our government; and that the Nabob cannot difmifs any part of our troops without our leave, I affirm, upon the very principle on which we undertook the defence of his dominions, at his own requeft. A principle underftood at that time by Mr. Francis, and acquiefced in by every other member of the Council. The fubject was introduced to us by the following letter from Mr. Briftow.

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Briftow, recorded in Confultation the 29th of November 1775.

" I addreffed the honourable Board on the 6th inftant; fince which the Nabob having maturely weighed the bad confequences which will inevitably enfue, if order be not introduced into his army, he requefts of me to apply to the honourable Board for their affiftance in effecting this very important meafure.

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" The mode he particularly points out, is to beg the favour of the honourable Board to furnish him with English officers to six battalions of Sepoys, as well as for the corps of artillery and cavalry in proportion; which would at all times be a sufficient cheque on his other troops, and serve to strengthen his government. He has not mentioned his desire for any particular arrangement of this corps, which he submits entirely to the consideration of the Board, and engages to have the pay regularly discharged.

" The honourable Board are best able to judge of the expediency of this measure; I humbly conceive, it would be greatly to the advantage of the Company, as a very considerable force would be hereby obtained; for although this corps is to be paid by the Nabob, and maintained for the support of his government, yet it may be subordinate to the honourable Board, whenever they may please to make it so; at the same time, that order and regularity will be thus introduced, the Nabob will be disabled from forming projects to the detriment of the Company; and, in case of accidents, the succession will be easily secured in the line the honourable Board may judge the most adviseable for the peace of Hindostan, which, of all other points, is the most material, as an ambitious and ill-disposed prince in the possession of these Soubas (collecting above three crócres of rupees a year, and maintaining a hundred thousand fighting men) might prove dangerous to the Company's existence."

Conformably to the foregoing letter, the Board's resolutions were dispatched to Mr. Bristow, as follows.

Extract of a Letter to Mr. Briſtow, in Conſultation the 29th of November, 1775.

" We have received your letter of the 7th inſt. At preſent we have only to ſignify our approbation in general, of the ſyſtem you have propoſed for curbing the refractory ſpirit of the Nabob's troops, and introducing regularity in his army, by the appointment of Britiſh officers. In a few days we ſhall conſider the ſubject, and form ſuch arrangements as may be neceſſary for this purpoſe, which we ſhall immediately communicate to you, together with our ſentiments upon the plan of regulations propoſed by Murtiza Cawn, which we have ordered to be tranſlated."

By this we adopted, what Mr. Briſtow recommended, and reſerved to ourſelves the future arrangements that might be propoſed for ſuch troops. The ſubject was again taken up in conſultation on the 14th December 1775; and General Clavering, agreeably to this principle, delivered himſelf in the following words:

" I beg leave to offer my opinion, that the aſſiſtance to be given to the Nabob of Oude, ſhould be ſtrictly confined to his requeſt; that is to ſay, to ſix battalions of infantry, and to a proportion of cavalry and artillery agreeably to this requiſition. I take the liberty to offer my idea on the formation of ſuch a body of troops as he ſeems to require. That the infantry conſiſt of 4,200 men, divided into ſix battalions, each to conſiſt of 700 men, and two battalions to form one regiment; the regiments to be commanded by captains, and the battalions by lieutenants, aided by a cadet, as an adjutant and quarter-maſter; and that, as the Company now poſſeſs a great number

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of ſupernumerary black officers, that a proper proportion of them be allowed to each battalion. I think that one Company of artillery, conſiſting of 100 men, will be ſufficient for one regiment, and to be attached to it, commanded by a lieutenant. According to this plan, there will be required three captains to command the three regiments, ſix lieutenants to command the ſix battalions, and ſix cadets to be quarter-maſters and adjutants, and three lieutenants for the artillery. The cavalry, I think, ſhould conſiſt of ſix regiments of 600 men each, divided into ſix troops and three ſquadrons; this body will then conſiſt of 3,600 men. I would recommend that each regiment be commanded by a captain, and each ſquadron by a lieutenant appointed to command two troops, which will then conſiſt of 100 men each; and that an enſign be appointed to act as adjutant and quarter-maſter to each regiment. The whole corps, amounting to 8,100 men, will be, I conceive, fully ſufficient for the defence of the Douab and the Rohilla country for the preſent, and will be as many as the Nabob will find funds to pay. If any member of this board ſhall think that this corps is too great, or too little, it may be eaſily reduced or augmented by the ſame proportions."

"Agreed to the plan propoſed by General Clavering, for regulating the troops of the Nabob Aſoph-ul-Dowla, by the appointment of Engliſh officers to his army, and to recommend to him the reduction propoſed by the Governor General." The recommendation of the Governor General is, that he be deſired to diſmiſs a great part of the uſeleſs rabble which he now keeps in his pay; and ſtill to ſhew this principle more ſtrongly influencing the board, General Clavering follows the reſolution,

refolution, by recommending in addition, that the Nabob be alfo advifed to employ Englifh officers upon the fame fyftem, to command his body-guard, and any increafed number of forces that he may find it neceffary to take into his fervice, beyond the propofed eftablifhment. Thefe refolutions are followed by another on the 18th of December 1775, in thefe words, "Refolved alfo, that this board referves to itfelf the right of recalling the whole or any part of thefe officers allotted to the Nabob's fervice, whenever it may be thought neceffary." When this meafure took place, the government of Oude was in the utmoft diftraction, owing to the caufes that are enumerated in the reprefentations received at that time. The queftion fimply now is, whether we fhall allow the Nabob to revert to a fyftem which was attended with fuch pernicious effects, as to rifk the overthrow of his government; or, whether we fhall adhere to the policy that influenced us to ftep forth, and to take charge of the military force of his country? The Nabob's ability to pay the Englifh eftablifhments I cannot queftion, while I have before me the letter of Mr. Briftow, which ftates his revenue at three crores of rupees, and the eftimated demand upon him by the Company, as ftated by our refident, amounts *only* to 136,12,188:12; and this fum is not a yearly rent charge, but includes articles that ought to have been paid by the Nabob, fo long fince as in the refidency of Mr. Briftow at his court, viz.—The balance of the debt due to the Company, 20,60,688:1:9; the donation to the army, ten lacks; and the private debts contracted with the officers of his army in that period, 7,59,109. Thefe, taken from the grofs

amount, would reduce the current demand of the year to 97,92,471:10 rupees.

I regard the forces paid by the Nabob of Oude as part of a large military eftablifhment, totally independent upon the Company. Policy will neither allow us to reduce our own ftrength, nor to increafe, independent of it, that of a prince who, with fuch a revenue as he poffeffes, might become a formidable enemy. As the diftreffes of the Soubah of Oude compelled him to put the military force of the country into the hands of our government, without any ftipulation whatever, or any refervation of right in himfelf to refume it into his own hands, it would be a breach of the duty we owe to the nation, to yield up fo great a portion of its real ftrength. I therefore moft heartily concur in the Governor General's motion; and, without any referve, adopt all the reafoning on which he made and defended it.

Mr. Francis.—Mr. Briftow's letter, I prefume, contains the beft reafons that occured to him in fupport of the meafure, and fuch as he thought moft likely to recommend it to our approbation. But neither doth he any where fuppofe, that the Vizier was bound to maintain the corps under Britifh officers as long as *we* thought proper, without referving to himfelf the power of difmiffing them; nor would any private opinion of our refident, communicated only to us, if in reality it had only amounted to the meaning afcribed to it by Mr. Barwell, conftitute an obligation upon the Vizier. The queftion is, whether there does exift between the Vizier and this government any fpecific ftipulation, by which he is bound to maintain

maintain the troops in queſtion, as long as we think proper? If there does, I am totally unacquainted with it.

Governor General.—I muſt beg leave to add a word or two in anſwer to this laſt minute. When the board formally adopted the *reaſoning** of Mr. Briſtow, it becomes their own, and I preſume they are bound by it. If it be true, which may be granted, that there is no ſpecific ſtipulation, by which the Nabob is bound to maintain the troops as long as we think proper—neither is there any ſpecific ſtipulation, by which we are bound to diſband them, or take their pay upon ourſelves, at any inſtant in which he ſhall think proper to demand it: and this I take to be the point immediately appertaining to the queſtion.

Approved the draught of a letter to Mr. Purling, and agreed, that it be wrote to him accordingly.

Agreed.—That the Governor General be requeſted to write a letter on this occaſion to the Vizier—the following draught of which is accordingly prepared and approved.

To the Nabob of Oude.

"I have received your Excellency's letter, informing me *(recapitulate the contents of the letter)* I have likewiſe ſeen a letter from your Excellency to Mr. Purling, the reſident at your court, to the ſame effect.

"It is a cauſe of equal concern and ſurprize to me, that you ſhould object or heſitate to grant tuncaws for the charges of an eſtabliſhment

* Perhaps the *plan* without the *reaſoning*.

 which

which was formed at your own particular ſolicitation, for the defence of Rohilcund and the Douab, at a juncture when your ancient and natural enemies the Marrattas are actually in arms, and ready to enter your dominions upon the firſt opening which ſhall be given them; nothing in my opinion will deter them from it, but the preſence of a formidable and well-regulated body of troops to oppoſe them. The dangerous conſequences of their entering your country, and finding it in a defenceleſs condition, are too obvious and ſtriking for me to mention; yet this muſt certainly be the caſe, if the Company's forces allotted to its protection be withdrawn or diſbanded. You are not to imagine, becauſe you have enjoyed an uninterrupted ſeaſon of peace for ſome years paſt, that you have no enemies to interrupt you, and may therefore reſt in ſecurity, without the expence of maintaining the force. On the contrary, it is to their power that you owe this tranquillity. And the neighbouring ſtates, whoſe annual incurſions and ravages in the territories of your late father of bleſſed memory were the cauſe of the Company's troops being firſt applied for, and ſtationed in your dominions, to repel them, will not fail to diſturb you again, as ſoon as this bulwark is removed, and the nakedneſs of your country ſhall invite them. Excluſive of this important conſideration, I think it proper to inform your Excellency, that I underſtand a mutual obligation between us to have been implied in the formation and maintenance of this eſtabliſhment. The Company are bound, on the one hand, to protect your dominions by its means; and you are bound, on the other, to defray the charges of it. While theſe terms, are complied with on both ſides, neither

has a right to complain. But you could never have ſuppoſed, when you applied to us to appoint this force for your ſervice, that the Company would be at the pains to raiſe and diſcipline ſo large a body of men, and to augment their eſtabliſhment by the addition of ſuch an extraordinary number of officers as were neceſſary to command them, if they were liable to be burthened with the ſole weight and expence of this force, by a ſudden reſolution on your part to diſcharge them, without previous and timely notice given to us, and our conſent received; and this too at ſuch a diſtance from the Company's poſſeſſions, as the countries in which they are now ſtationed.

I am convinced, that a reſolution ſo pernicious to the real intereſts of your government, ſo repugnant to the intimate connection which ſubſiſts between us, and ſo dangerous in the end, both to your poſſeſſions and the Company's, cannot have been ſuggeſted to you by any but ſecret enemies to your ſtate; and that, on a mature conſideration of the caſe, this advice will appear to you as inſidious as it does to me. I therefore recommend to you in the ſtrongeſt manner, not only to ſhun the evil councils of ſuch falſe friends, but to diſmiſs them from your ſervice and confidence, as unworthy of both. I beg you to conſider, that it is equally my inclination and intereſt, to endeavour to provide for the ſupport of your government, and the defence of your dominions againſt the power of invaſion of a foreign enemy. For this purpoſe, General Coote has thought it adviſeable to viſit the different ſtations of the army in your country; and he will be conſtantly attentive to take means for your ſecurity, while your dependence is placed on the Company's alliance and aſſiſtance

aſſiſtance: but if you are determined to withdraw yourſelf from both, and to diſſolve the union which has ſo long ſubſiſted between your family and this government, I expect that ſufficient time and notice of your intention be given, to prevent our being involved in troubles, from the haſty execution of it. I cannot conſent to your diſmiſſing the Company's troops at ſuch a diſtance from home, and at ſuch a criſis; nor can I at preſent agree to recall them. As much time at leaſt muſt be given to diſpoſe of this force, when you ſhall have no further occaſion for their ſervices, as was allowed for the raiſing of it. I therefore requeſt, that you will attend to the repreſentations of Mr. Purling, who has been ordered again to apply to you, in the name of this government, for tuncaws for the neceſſary diſburſements of the current year. And although your revenues have ſuffered a diminution by the unfortunate failure of the harveſt, yet I am perſuaded, that there will be ſufficient, with œconomy and attention, to anſwer every ſervice required from them; and that you will therefore chearfully comply with the demand which Mr. Purling is ordered to make. At all events, the defence of your country is the firſt object to be attended to, and the regular payment of a well-diſciplined body of troops is indiſpenſably neceſſary for this end. Add to this, that your engagements to the Company are of ſuch a nature, as to oblige me to require and inſiſt on your granting tuncaws for the full amount of their demands upon you for the current year, and on your reſerving funds ſufficient to anſwer them, even ſhould the deficiency of your revenues compel you to leave your own troops unprovided for, or to diſband a part of them, to enable you to effect it."

Agreed.

Agreed.—That a copy of these papers be transmitted to the Commander in Chief, with the following letter:

"To Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote, K. B. Commander in Chief, &c. &c.

"Sir,

"In a letter which we received from Mr. Purling, under date the 19th ult. we are informed of the Vizier's refusal to grant tuncaws for the expences of the Company's forces, allotted to the defence of his dominions in Rohilcund and the Douab, for this year. As we cannot, by any means, consent to this ill-timed and sudden dismission of that part of our establishment, we have written letters to the Nabob and Mr. Purling, of which we inclose copies for your information.—We request that you will add your personal influence to the arguments we have urged to the Nabob, and assist with your endeavours to give effect to the application which will be made to him by Mr. Purling.

"We are, with esteem, &c."

"Fort William,
15th Dec. 1779."

FINIS.

THE note in p. 35, vol. I. concerning Lord S——t, was introduced without the knowledge of the Author, by a friend, to whom, during an occafional abfence, he had committed the charge of correcting the prefs.

It has been expunged from the whole of the edition, except a few copies which were diftributed among men of rank and power as foon as they were printed.—In the room of the cancelled note, the following is introduced:

This was confpicuous on a particular occafion, wherein Dr. Franklin and his adherents fhewed their difappointment, by the eagernefs with which they publifhed the correfpondence between Lord Stormont and him in 1777, concerning *prifoners*. Had the *Britifh ambaffador* condefcended to correfpond, *in that capacity*, with the *American agent*, the court of Verfailles would have fhewn equal eagernefs in recognizing the *agent* in his public character, and have left the court of Britain without any caufe of complaint, even if the king of France had acknowledged the independency of America; the Englifh ambaffador having tacitly acknowledged Dr. Franklin as the *agent* of America, as an independent ftate:—and by the fame arguments, the partizans of America would have had a new and moft powerful ground for cenfuring both the adminiftration of Britain, and the conduct of its ambaffador in France.